1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

000

LAU ISLANDS, FIJI

BY

A. M. HOCART

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

BULLETIN 62

[Title Page]

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1929

000

CONTENTS

PAGE
- Introduction 3
  - Sources of information 4
  - General geography 4
- Lakemba 7
  - Physical features and villages 7
    - Tumbou 10
    - Levuka 18
    - Lauandoko 19
  - Islands subject to Lakemba 22
    - Relationship 22
    - Naiau 23
    - Thithia 23
    - Southern Islands 25
      - Relationship 25
      - Kambara and its dependencies 25
      - Fulanga and its dependencies 26
  - Foreign relations of Lakemba 28
- Kinship 33
- Rank and titles 43
  - Class distinction 43
    - Polite address 46
  - The turanga 49
  - The high chief 50
  - Minor chiefs of Tumbou 53
  - Village chiefs of Lakemba 56
  - Envoys 57
- Ceremonies 57
  - Kava drinking ceremony 59
    - Introduction 59
    - Tongan kava ceremony in Lau 60
    - Fijian kava ceremony 63
  - Installation of the Sau 67
  - Installation of the Tui Naiau 67
  - Installation of village chiefs 68
  - Installation of a chief of Thithia 69
  - Installation of the Tui Lakemba 69
  - Offerings 70
  - Feasts 75
  - Festivals or pot latches 78
    - Lauan style 78
    - Tongan style 83
    - Song and dance 83
      - Tongan dances 83
      - Wallis Island dances 87
      - Club dance 88
      - Sitting dance 89
      - Snake dance 89
      - Comic dances 90
    - Games 91
      - Reed throwing 91
      - Fighting games 92
      - Lafo 92
      - Catch as catch can 93
      - Plenty of souls 93
      - Games of skill and strength 94
      - Guessing games 95

000

Page
Land and property ... 96
  Chattels ... 98
  Begging system ... 99
Industries ... 102
  Agriculture ... 102
    Yam growing ... 102
    Taro planting ... 106
    Sugar cane growing ... 107
    Greens ... 108
    Kava raising ... 108
    Coconuts ... 108
    Planting periods ... 108
    First fruits ... 108
  Navigation ... 109
    Stars and weather ... 110
  Fishing ... 111
    Net fishing ... 111
    Yavi rau ... 112
    Mullet fishing ... 113
    Fish fences ... 114
    Line fishing ... 115
    Fish spearing ... 115
    Crab hunting ... 116
    Bagging palolo ... 116
    Turtle fishing ... 117
  Building ... 119
    The house ... 119
      Coir rope ... 124
      Stages and ceremonials of housebuilding ... 125
    Canoe building and its ceremonials ... 126
    Drums ... 131
  Women's industries ... 131
    Bark cloth ... 131
    Mat making ... 136
    Oil ... 136
  Food and its preparation ... 137
    Introduction ... 137
    Stewing ... 137
    Baking ... 137
    Puddings ... 137
    Fermenting ... 139
    Serving ... 140
Warfare ... 141
  Forts ... 141
  Oracles ... 141
  Preparations ... 142
  Fighting ... 142
  Victory ... 143
The Lauan as an individual ... 145
  Infancy ... 145
  Childhood ... 145
    Discipline ... 145
    Puberty ... 147
    Circumcision ... 147
    Confinement of girls ... 149
    Names ... 150
  Adults ... 152
    Rivalry ... 153
    Old age ... 154
    Curses and oaths ... 154
    Sexual relations and marriage ... 155
      Morality ... 155
      Marriage ... 155

[p.ii]

000

PAGE
Birth ceremonial 159
Sickness and medicine 161
The cure, the diagnosis 161
Tongan remedies 167
Treatment for pregnancy and birth 167
Possession 169
The children of water 170
Spirits and medicine 171
Witchcraft 172
Various kinds of witchcraft 174
Tongan witchcraft 176
On fishing and gardens 176
Death 177
Belief in the supernatural 185
Spirits 185
Miracles 186
Ghosts 186
Deities 188
Introduction 188
Priests 189
Ancestor gods 189
Tauvu 199
Elves 201
Divination 203
Legends and historical fragments 203
Thithia Island 204
Kambara Island 209
Ono Island 210
Naiau Island 211
Vanua Vatu 213
Oneata Island 213
Tarukua 214
Waitambu 214
Nasangalau 216
Vakano 216
Lomaloma 217
Totoya 217
Matuku 217
Animal tales 218
Moala, Totoya, and Matuku islands 219
General relations 219
Moala 220
Totoya 221
Matuku 222
Vanua Mbalavu 225
Lomaloma 225
Mualevu 228
Inferences 230
Origin of the people 230
The dual organization 232
Clans 235
Succession 235
Dual chieftainship 235
Installation 236
Medicine 238
Tribal animal 238
Glossary 239
Dialect words 239
Abstract of the genealogy of Navuanirewa 241
Bibliography 243

[p. iii]

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE
Plate I Portraits of Lauans .... Following p. 243
II Features of Lauan life .... Following p. 243
III Lauan houses and boats .... Following p. 243
IV Lauan bark cloth designs .... Following p. 243
Figure 1. Map of Lau 5
2. Map of Lakemba 7
3. Map of village of Tumbou 11
4. Drawing of framework of Tongan style house 120
5. Drawing of framework of Tongan style house 121
6. Drawing of framework of Tongan style house 122
7. Drawing of plaiting and lashing in Tongan style house 122
8. Drawing of lashing designs in Tongan style house 123
9. Drawing showing construction of the Kandavu sailing canoe 127
10. Drawing showing construction of the Kandavu sailing canoe 128
11. Patterns for applique on tapas 135

[There are no Pl. 1 x 2]

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford. 114

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me. 126

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do. cct

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back. 538 173

The Land~~s~~ Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complete subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of 173

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but
there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently
imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

131 1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have
enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to
the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all. 433 134

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy, 142 131

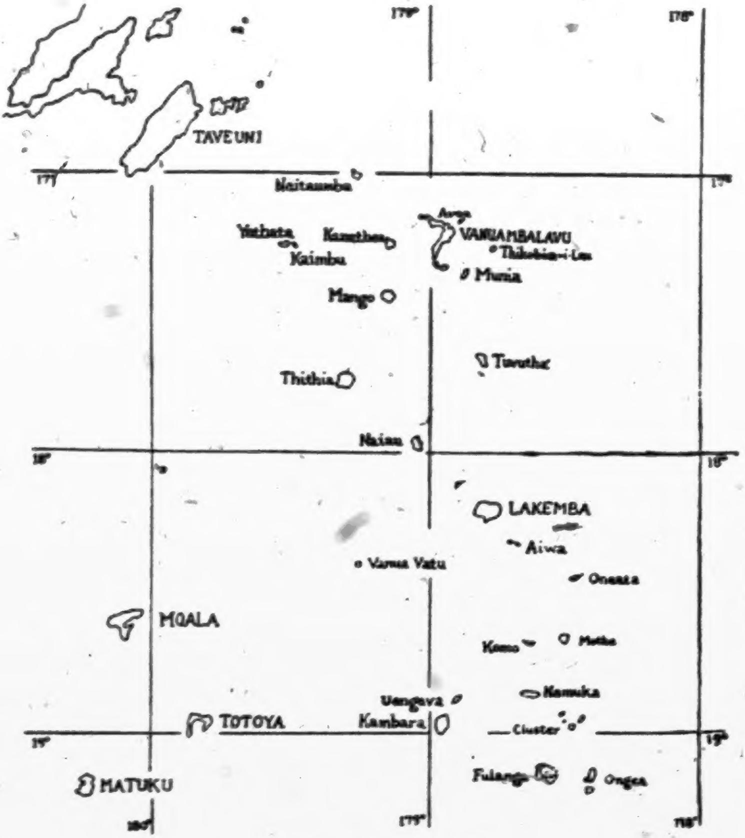

179°
178°
TAVEUNI
17°
Naitaumba
17°
Avea
Yathata
Kanathea
VANUAMBALAVU
Thikombia-i-Lau
Kaimbu
Munia
Mango
Tuvutha
Thithia
Naiau
18°
18°
LAKEMBA
Aiwa
Vanua Vatu
Oneata
MOALA
Komo
Motha
Namuka
Uengava
TOTOYA
Kambara
Cluster
19°
19°
Fulanga
Ongea
MATUKU
180°
179°
178°

Figure 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own. 194

104

Place names are spelled as they appear on the official map "Compiled and drawn at the Lands Department, Suva, Fiji, revised August, 1923." The spelling is substantially that of the charts issued by the British Admiralty and the United States Hydrographic Office. Unfortunately, the official spelling of such words as Naiau (properly Nayau), Fulanga (properly Vulanga), and Uangava or Wangava (properly Vuanggava) obscure the meaning.

LAKEMBA

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND VILLAGES

Lakemba is the chief island of the Lau Archipelago south of Naiau. 131
(See fig. 2.) Its high chief bears the titles of Roko Sau and Tui Naiau
(Lord of Naiau). The island is typical of those in the dry zone of Fiji. 137
Except for one or two summits, the hills are without forests. Their red slopes are bare or covered with bracken, with here and there a *Casuarina* or screw pine (*Pandanus*). The good soil is in pockets near the coast, where tall trees grow, if allowed, but as most of the good land is periodically fired before planting, the ground is mostly covered with reeds, long
and strong, and useful for making walls and fences. There is level land 133
only round the coast, a belt that varies in width and extends into the hills as flats suitable for irrigation. The largest of these is the fertile valley of the Nakula stream, which penetrates to the foot of Ulu i Kendekende, the highest hill

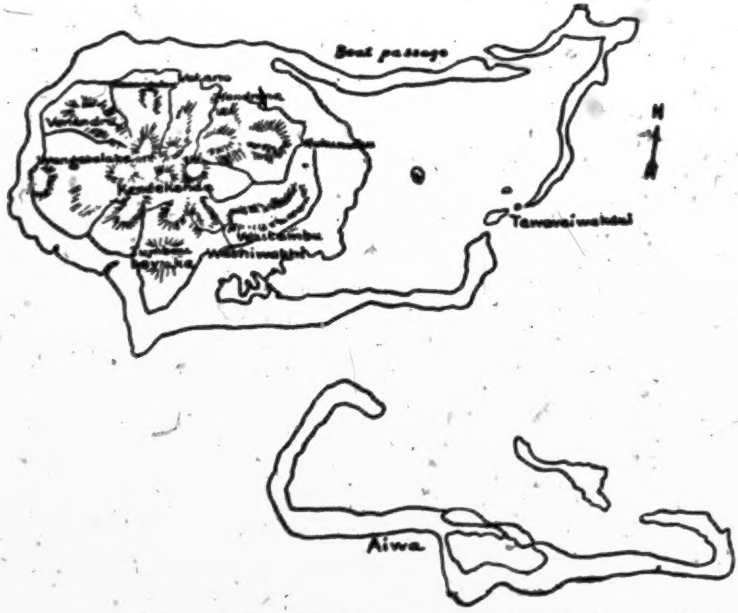


Figure 2.—Map of Lakemba (based on Admiralty chart).

361
491
133

Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

361
[161]

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

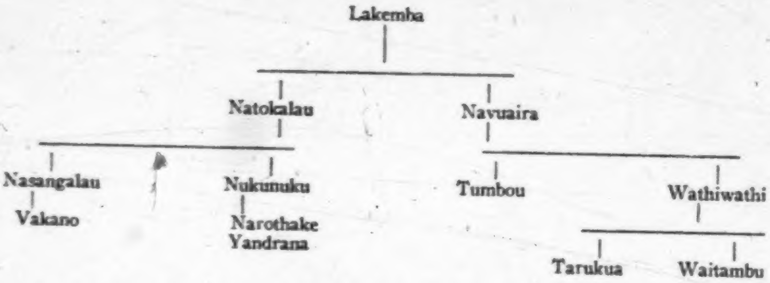
The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country," Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

361
184

Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

631 For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



[563] Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

342 171 Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

343 As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. 342 With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

342 576 It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

352 285 The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to
the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves,
five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house,
hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are
kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west.
The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye,
also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

36/
6a1

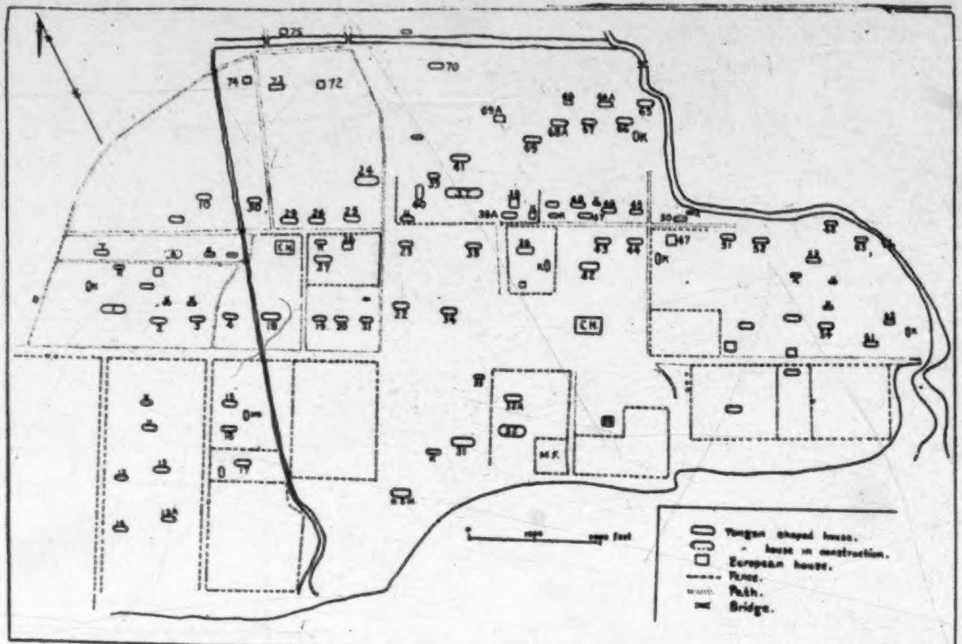


FIGURE 3.—Map of village of Tumbou: K, kitchen; O, stone oven house; Ch., church; Mb., young men's house (*mbure*); M.
F., unknown; N. S. M., native magistrate; N. M. P., native medical practitioner; P. O., provincial office. The names of the
houses are: 1, Thakaundroveiwai; 2, Mbenau; 3, Nggararaninggio; 4, Koronivia; 5, unknown; 6, Seanggangga; 7, Nakoromaluia;
8, unknown; 9, Nggakilanggi; 10, unknown; 11, unknown; 12, Welangi; 13, Mbouono; 14, Motulala; 15, Manono; 16, Undukathu;
17, Samoa; 18, Vanua Masi; 19, Naveruarua; 20, Thithia; 21, Taira; 22, Seanggangga; 23, Lakembanawa; 24, Vunisavisavi; 25,
Tuvukei; 26, Naitasiri; 27, Natambusoro; 28, Nakuki; 29, Matanivolau; 30, Tuvatuvarua; 31, Matailakemba; 32, Kaukilangi;
33, unknown; 34, Matai Naiau; 35, Muailangi; 36, Matanalailai; 37, Vatuwangga; 38, Wangganui; 38A, Sekoula; 39, Vunilanga-
kali; 40, Vunimanggo; 41, Yangasa; 42, Niu Kini; 43, Mbateteva; 44, Ndranivono; 45, unknown; 46, Muanakauli; 47, Veiravui;
48, Muairewa; 49, Verata; 50, unknown; 51, Mbiaungunu; 52, Solomone; 53, Mathuata; 54, Nukuselala; 55, Nathurumothe; 56,
Wainingasau; 57, Sawakasa; 58, Naveretambu; 59, Newai; 60, Tiaina; 61, Naisongotheva; 62, Vunimakosoi; 63, Nggalimosi;
64, Mbateteva; 65, Nggaranithava; 66, Loa; 67, unknown; 68, unknown; 69, Mbatiniwai; 70, Taiti; 71, Ndenivonu; 72, Niu Silandi;
73, Nainggianggi; 74, Tukituki.

614

together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
  (a) Matailakemba
  (b) Vatuwangga
  (c) Naivi
  (d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
  (e) Katumbalevu
  (f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

614
565

The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu. Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to 614
plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were 565
zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful.

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two 614
sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group.

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term
has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or [609]
guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households.

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbálevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all clans; or, the whole of Tai. Thus the classification of clans in Tai, exclusive of the Tongans, is as follows:

- Tai
  - Katumbalevu
    - Navuanirewa
      - Matailakemba
      - Vatuwangga
      - Naivi
      - Koroithumu
    - Katumbalevu
  - Vale Lailai
    - Tandravula
    - Natokatoka
    - Narewandamu

At present there are three clans in the Tumbou half of the village: Theyekena or Thekena, Tanggalevu or Tumbou, and Tuware.

Of the many subdivisions of the clan Thekena only one is left. And of the Tumbou clans, only Tanggalevu remains. There is some doubt about the subdivisions of Thekena, due to the small numbers surviving. A great many emigrated during a famine and are now to be found in Mualevu and Natewa.

Tanggalevu, which comes second, is the largest clan in the Tumbou half of the village. Its "sides of the oven" are Lomaitheno, first; Thokenikoro, second. Lomaitheno is also the name of a piece of land in Tumbou. The expression *Tumbou lewena* is often heard; meaning, "Tumbou, the core" or it may be short for *Tumbou, lewe ni vanua* (Tumbou, the people of the land). It appears to refer to the clan, not to the half village.

The position of Tuware is not clear. The herald says that Tumbou was divided into Thekena, Nandomole, and Tuware on one side and Tanggalevu on the other. A nobleman says Tuware was subject to Thekena. Against that we have the facts that the present order of precedence is Thekena, Tanggalevu, Tuware; that the Tuware quarter is at the opposite end to Thekena; that Tuware is now merged into Tanggalevu. It, however, may have originally belonged to Thekena.

The only survivor of the Tuware clan died during my residence in Fiji. His "side of the oven" was Vatuoso. According to the Lands Enquiry this side comes second, the first one being Naiviloaloa.

Tumbou, then, is subdivided as follows:

- Tumbou
  - Thekena
    - Thekena
    - Nandomole
    - Tuware
  - Tumbou
    - Tanggalevu

or else

- Tumbou
  - Tanggalevu
  - Tuware

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa.* 614
From this is formed a verb *vakawatha,* to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of 177
old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of 578
Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navu- 614
anirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. 565
(See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

614 565 and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

64 Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

614 Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

614 591 Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

614 582 591 342 Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

592 A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked.

609 614 Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

64 Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

LEVUKA

624 [241] Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

[166] [197] Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka,* the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

614 Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

462 The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

323 438 The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made [314] it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

---

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 622

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

LAUANDOKO

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1. **Nanduruvesi**	**Nakanoru** **Talikimamana**
2. **Mataivungalei**	**Mbukanitunga**
3. **Veikau**	**Naseuvou** **Vutuna** **Takalai**

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [622]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	**Valeiloma** **Navai**
Rakuta	**Ndakoro** **Nanggalia** **Matasiwai**
Lomaitilou	**Lomaitilou** **Nakambuta**
Nggawaleka	**Tandulu** **Mbatiniwai** **Nanduruvesi**

---

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

621 [161 The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

614 In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli
	Waipose
	Naivikula
	Navurewa
	Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita
	Ndre
	Mbutha
	Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu
	Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

614 565 Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

614 The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

602 The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

614 565 Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present 614
Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the 565
nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. 621
(See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 614

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuika
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to 602
be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on 622
Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. 766
One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621
614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There 602
are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the 776
island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because 602
the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

621 602 614 number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
Yawalevu	Nautuutu Natavua Keloa	Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai

622 The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another. [624 203] [602]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631. The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony. [644]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

631 576 565 The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

NAIAU

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

THITHIA

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani,* the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> 602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the
village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to
Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of
[197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the
Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains 614
bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga 565
stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea,
Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. 614
Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them 622
was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs
nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs
live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

SOUTHERN ISLANDS

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands 636
came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the 621
village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 614

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

[614] Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 142 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

> 173 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

173 canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

636 641 Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

614 In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

142 144 The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

651 Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

721 621 As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

166 Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

565 Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

133 621 614 Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

622 614 Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

622 The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

622 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622
621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy, to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

[614] The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

148 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from that time on there are no more ladies of Vuna in the pedigrees. It is uncertain whether it was Vuna or Thakaundrove that "took Lakemba to Mbau"; or whether Lakemba entered into relations with Mbau directly.

Thakaundrove ladies were brought to Lakemba as wives for Lakemban nobles. It is said that Lakemban ladies were taken to Thakaundrove, but no concrete instance could be given, except that of the wife of the late Tui Thakau. When a canoe came from Thakaundrove some fifty years ago the women of Lakemba used to attire themselves exceedingly well, for in those days the nobles of Thakaundrove were very tall and "the objects of our coquetry"; now they are small men. Their capital, Somosomo, "is withered; perhaps because of parricide" (at least one chief of Thakaundrove buried his father alive). The people of Lakemba, not the Lord of Naiau, gave the *tama* to Tui Thakau when he came; but they did not do it sincerely unless his mother was a Lauan. One informant thinks Lakemba was afraid of Thakaundrove because it was a strong land, and that is why Lakemba made feasts for them.

Lakemba was, with Thakaundrove, "the hand that takes stuff to Mbau (*linga ni yau ki Mbau*)." Lakemba used regularly to take gifts to Mbau and received nothing in return. This was explained by saying that Mbau and Lakemba are kin, that Mbau is "sacred blood," that is senior branch, in relation to Lakemba, as the Mbauans are descendants of Niumataiwalu. The story is cited that Thakombau refused to drink kava until the cup had been taken to the Tui Naiau who was in Yandrana. When the Sau or High Chief died, Lakemba would ask Mbau to approve of his successor. The people give the *tama* salutation to the Vunivalu or principal chief of Mbau and his true sons; even the Tui Naiau does so for the Vunivalu. For the Vunivalu only, they hold the ceremony called "calling on one another" at his arrival. If the Vunivalu came to Lakemba, the Tui Naiau would send to Lau for a large double canoe. Formerly ladies were taken to Mbau to be the wives of the Vunivalu or some other nobleman. It is said that when a Mbauan noble came to Lakemba, the women were hidden for fear he should take them by force. No great lady of Mbau married a Lakemban until Uluilakemba II married Andi Temumu, and then there was some opposition. Ratu Finau, his son, is "great sister's son" to Mbau; if he goes to Mbau, he can fly a pennant from his masthead. At the present day the Lauans are looked down upon in Mbau.

The Lord of Naiau presents whale's teeth (*tauri tambua*) only to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Rewa. It is considered improper to do so for Kandavu. Lakemba only dances for the Chief of Mbau and the chief of Thakaundrove; and there was much grumbling when they were ordered to dance for the Kandavu people and to take off their dancing dresses to them. When the

648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648
167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

> One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484
439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathi- 464
wathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and 614
Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana 565
deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji 152
where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in 602
the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku 574
family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related 608
to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), 602
and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to 565
be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed 604
it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

563 There are usually in Lakemba a number of men from Viti Levu, chiefly the north coast, who have come as laborers or in the company of a Lauan whom they have met in Viti Levu. They make themselves useful to their hosts. Those who come from Nakorotumbu are considered to have some kinship with Lakemba since they took away Lakemban women a long time ago after the siege of Kendekende.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system 611
of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian 171
system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is re- 602
lated in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same. 601

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani.	Father and child.
Veitinani.	Mother and child.
Veitathini.	Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani.	Brother and sister.
Veitukani.	Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni.	Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni.	Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni.	Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini.	Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani.	Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani:	what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)." Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582
565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently 582
the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways.

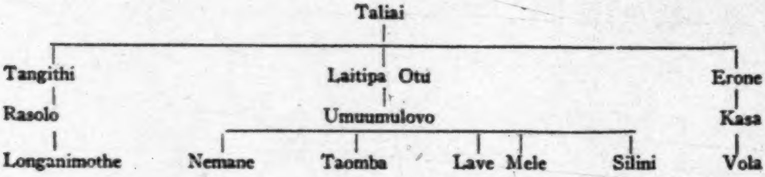
Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of 593
etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau:

> Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak 604
> together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere.
>
> Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. 593
> They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves.
>
> Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to [565]
> address the younger first.
>
> It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale* [513
> *soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has 304]
> one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection.
>
> Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild in- 603
> volves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives 565
> it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble.
>
> Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There [604] is no feast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

605
534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

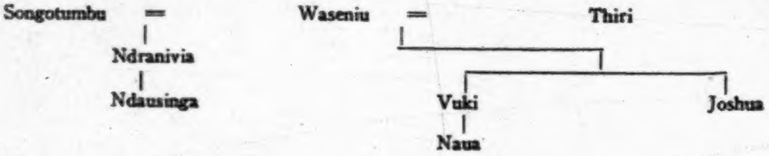
There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

593
565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. 593
The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his 565
father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and 604
obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him 603
sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the 593
other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga*," I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[264] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

[565] Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua*, old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana*, that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595
565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

> 595 565 wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

614 554 Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

593 604 The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

601 The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles."

554 A nephew is spoken of as *vasu,* which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu.* A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu,* or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

604
425 There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa sauni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sausau* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko,* "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425.

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*. 554

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small 591

591 child brought up in another clan retains his original clan. One man belonged to Vatuwangga though his father was brought up in Naivi. Another of Naivi was brought up in Matailakemba, but all his sons are in Naivi; he in turn brought up his adopted father's children, Uluilakemba, Malani, Tuiketei, but they are all set down in Matailakemba. It is true that Tuimereke, the son of the ancestor of Vatuwangga, lives with Naivi and speaks of himself as belonging to Naivi, but he is really the head of Vatuwangga. A man of Koroithumu was brought up by the third Lord of Naiau and his descendants on that account belong to Vatuwangga, but they also belong to Koroithumu. Many children are fostered by their mother's people. A commoner could adopt the children of a nobleman. Tuimereke and Malani were both thus adopted.

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. 565
In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that 141
the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go.

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is 565
known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as 576
a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers.

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed 565
to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. 578
Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled 266
out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us."

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that 565
only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at

565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga,* chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga,* gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga,* an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565
576
516 When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say "*tilou.*" This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of
302 the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man "fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's* quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

565 548 clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

565 554 The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. [264] Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

POLITE ADDRESS

576 565 Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is 576
now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before 565
the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landuvunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship.

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which 576
covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) 195
used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people.

ENGLISH	FIJIAN EXPRESSION	LITERAL MEANING
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

576
195

To go	lea ka	
To sit	wiri	
To say	vakatambuna	to make sacred
To die	siri	to go wrong
To die	mbale	to fall
To die	mothe	to sleep[8]
To sleep	vakathethengu vakarerengge, tavo	to rest to take care of
To awake	lave lave	to lift up
To bathe	tumbutumbu	
To be angry	toka wale	to sit doing nothing
Please give me	vakandrakai mai	take trouble to give
Yes	ia saka, ie	

The commonest respectful terms are the use of the second person plural, and the particle *saka*. The second person plural is in common use between people who are not intimate. The word *saka* is probably the root of *sakasaka* (awkward) and is therefore a self-depreciating particle. It has been identified by Europeans as a vocative equivalent to "Sir," and is now prefixed to letters. But as the analogy of other dialects proves, it occupies in the sentence the position not of the vocative, but of an adverb. In Mualevu, where the Thakaundrove speech dialect is spoken, *vakatha* (badly) is used. The word *lea* is also used by elderly polite persons very much like *saka*, only more extensively. It can be used between the possessive and the noun as: *a omundou lea thakathaka;* also it is used as a verb instead of "go."

No hard and fast rule can be laid down for the use of polite language. There is not a man who will not use the particle *saka* in speaking to the High Chief, or who will omit to call his leg a stand, "because he is the lord of our land; his title is Tui Naiau." The people of Tumbou and Levuka will call a great nobleman's leg a leg; but the countryfolk and the people of Lau will call his leg a stand. Some small men even in Tumbou will speak of the Lord of Tumbou's leg as a stand. All these words, however, are now more or less abandoned except for the Lord of Naiau.

The ordinary greeting is "awake." For a great person there is special salutation called *tama* which is sung out on first meeting him or passing his house in the morning. The men say *"o oa"* in a deep voice, dropping about a tone on the *a*. The women sing out "*ninggo*" rising about a tone on the *nggo* and drawing it out. The great man does not answer the *tama*. When once the sun has reached the zenith this salutation is forbidden, and "It is night, Sir," is used. The great man answers, "It is night." The *tama* is of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

---

[8] A writer in the Native Gazette (12), probably a man from Mbau, says that a nobleman who dies naturally is said to sleep; if he is murdered it is said that he fell.

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua,* the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro,* and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali.* In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

565 Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina,* or "true *turanga.*" I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama.*

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

643
565 In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

643 The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau, in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau. 643

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant. 565

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position. 644 516

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho*, "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala*. [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya*, "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho*. Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua*, "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi*, from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

643 516 Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

644 595 Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga,* a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

643 The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

> The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.
>
> Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.
>
> 643 778 The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.
>
> Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time 731 Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

614
624

have nothing to do with feasts out of doors, but only when these are brought in to the Lord of Naiau. The share that falls to the Lord of Naiau they divide. They do not speak out of doors; Narewandamu speak out of doors. They are described as "the Land of Navuanirewa" as opposed to the "Land" pure and simple, that is Tumbou.

The heads of Katumbalevu proper and of Narewandamu are the Lord of Naiau's "old men." They should be in his presence every day.

Thekena is spoken of as "the Land" in contradistinction to the nobles. The title, Vakavanua, the adjective of *vanua* (land), is usually shortened to Vaka. One tradition relates that he was the chief of old; but the High Chief declined and became Vaka.

The chief of Tanggalevu is called Tui Tumbou. The title was given to a member of the oldest generation, but of the lesser "edge of the oven." The head of the senior branch was addressed and officiated as Lord of Tumbou in the absence of the real one. The original functions of the Lord of Tumbou are not known, but at present he fulfills most of the functions of a herald, excepting the distribution of feasts. It was he who apportioned the kava and directed the reception of high officials. He is the "mouth of Tui Naiau." The High Chief does not speak; the Lord of Tumbou speaks. It was said that the third Lord of Naiau appointed the Lord of Tumbou to this office in place of the heralds who had a bad name for murdering chiefs. The Lord of Tumbou also bears the title of Ramasi, Sir Cloth.

An informant says:

> Vakavanua, the Land Chief, is higher than the Lord of Tumbou. If there is a fight and the heralds go to stop it and do not succeed the Lord of Tumbou will go. If he fails, the Land Chief will go; when he appears, all things cease. The Lord of Tumbou and the Land Chief are weighty delayers of anger. The nobles may not hit each other in presence of the Land Chief, the Lord of Tumbou, or a herald. If the High Chief wants to sleep and his household or the herald comes and tells the Chief and utters the name of Land Chief of Lord of Tumbou, when he hears it, it is hard for him to lie down again on his bed: he knows it is something serious.

I know of no title in Tuware. This clan were the *mataivalu kalou,* that is, "spirit battalion." They went first in war and though all Lakemba retreated, they still advanced.

One Tongan bears the title of Moala, which is said to mean navigator.

The Tongan term *matapule* is constantly used to denote these minor chiefs. Strictly speaking, *matapule* is the equivalent of the Fijian *mata ni vanua* or herald, but it is said to be "a polite word for old men." I have heard the Fijian *matanivanua* used in the extended sense, for instance, for the chief of Levuka. They are also called "chiefs of the land," or "old men of the land." Any of them could intercede with the High Chief on behalf of an offender. Formerly they were treated with respect. The children of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

---

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

554 614 463 noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622 In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba,* that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

---

[5] *Masi kei Natokalau* not *nei,* of; *nei* is never used in this expression.

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title 622
was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu.

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually 565
frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi.

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An 645
envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High 631
Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered.

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are 631
kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga.

631 Naivi people are envoys to Ono and Vatoa because Uluilakemba I ancestor of that clan, married a lady of Ono and her son conquered Ono. They also became envoys to Ongea because one of them saved the third Lord of Naiau from shipwreck and so was given Ongea, Tarukua, and Lomati in Kambara as the "price of life" (*ka ni mbula*) to rule according to his pleasure.

Koroithumu is envoy to Nukunuku and Oneata; Katumbalevu proper, to Thithia; Tandravula, to Waitambu; Narewendamu, to Wathiwathi; Thekena, to Vakano. Tanggalevu is envoy to Kambara.

From of old down to the days of the third Lord of Naiau Vakano made feasts for Thekena while the other villages made feasts for the chief's house. If they made a feast for the High Chief it was first taken to Thekena and there was a share for that clan. Thekena also counts Waitambu as a subject, although it is not envoy to that place. Waitambu prepares the food out of doors, while Vakano are household servants (*kaivale*) and attend indoors. Thekena speak of these two places as their "two countrysides." They are also envoys to Komo.

There is no envoy to Naiau. This island stands in a peculiar position. The Lord of Naiau holds it. On landing the people of Naiau go straight to Big House into the kitchen.

In each island there is an envoy to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands these envoys were the chiefs. There were no *tui* then.

645 There are also envoys to countries not subject. The envoy to Mbau has been mentioned. The envoys to Thakaundrove and to Totoya were not hereditary, but some nobleman was appointed. He was accompanied by a herald who spoke to him.

CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

INTRODUCTION

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji. 272 276

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government, and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months 272 177 276

272 the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle.
177 This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu.
276 It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

574 At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a
272 parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan,
276 "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco
is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*).
The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a
young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door,
who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation.
The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides,
in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the
door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally
reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes
[276 with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece
of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a
[356 few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty
meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald
[565 clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser
noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it
is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door,
while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted
[177 forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava
has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan.
The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed
together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side
pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by
rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then
the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that
the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the 574
palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker 272
makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the 276
fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death- [177]
feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of 765
the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his 272
absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the 565
place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald 276

765 (*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the
272 heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief,
565 Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the
276 nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

> If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,
>
> "Why do you sit there?"
>
> "As Tui Tumbou."
>
> "How are you connected with them?"
>
> Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.
>
> The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.
>
> It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

276 765 272 565

did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

272 565 276

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati,* to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

[171]

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena,* but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

272 276

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

FIJIAN KAVA CEREMONY

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

272 276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 533 276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

272 Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
533 A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
539 La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
276 Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[6]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[5]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight,
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

---

[5] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia no no na vanua.*

[6] *Vakatonggara e na kali; vakatonggara = vakatatava.*

Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[1] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave‿wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes. 272
It is like the dropping of the rain. 533
It is like the dropping of the rain. 539
The kava I went to pull up 276
An old man touches.[2]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[3]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

---

[1] *Namata*, lose; *tarewni* and Levuka, *matha*.

[2] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[3] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

272 533 276 gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

272 276 143 The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

---

[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua o—Sa:?—thombo*: to clap.

INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

643
272
276

> The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.
>
> No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivuki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

> A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).
>
> Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."
>
> During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

643 272 276 people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *vu vanua,* that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga,* "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo,* which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa,* that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

622 272 276 In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

> In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.
>
> In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.
>
> A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

> The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.
>
> Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia: 622 272 276

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73). 648 272 276

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

648 272 276 sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for
266 the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

431 Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

431 576 516 If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

> 431 576 Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

---

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vuvura."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

431 576 He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E.*" The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase."

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

431 576 537 195 The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*).

431 576 The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good."

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

---

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

431
576

term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro*, or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, "*O oa.*" He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ŏ ŏă,*" they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki*, to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa.*" Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono.* The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha.*

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i luva ni tawake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

431
576
board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending "*ē*." The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i wawa*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love. let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be propitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither],"[18] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

---

[18] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

574 772 In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble."/Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, "*O, oa!*" set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, "*A, mangiti,*" dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, "*Amunduo,*" clapped again and said, "*Amunduo,*" then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *wavu lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

527 At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a
648 sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [177] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

---

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574
462
252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

LAUAN STYLE

431
574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

> The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Io*, little tooth."
>
> The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"
>
> He begins again: "A little tooth."
>
> The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga*."
>
> The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"
>
> The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*solevu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[33] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevusevu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

---

[33] This must be a mistake. At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

431
574

Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vakathambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai a vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, *"e."* They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted *"kamunanga,"* while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. 431
It's a sugar to me." 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo,* after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth 431
and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, 574
ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[16a] While he was speaking the 537
gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo,* etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like countryfolk.

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature 431
coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang 574
out *vono.* Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying 535
it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited.

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the 431
gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had con- 574
tributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients.

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

---

[16a] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

431
574

drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, "*O, oa.*" The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo,* and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu r[illegible]d the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the chur[illegible]." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out "*kamunanga.*" The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

TONGAN STYLE

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

SONG AND DANCE

TONGAN DANCES

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

535
177
not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka,* which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

535
292
177
The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

535
The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor 535
to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian 177
dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered. 535

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands. 535 533

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head 535

535 resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

[293] The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning "*Suka koe*" were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*mau*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

535
533
177 The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

535 The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an [931] expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European. 535

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance. 535 431

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations. 535

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again. [177]

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi. [177] [293]

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous. [177]

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

CLUB DANCE

535 The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women
533 armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and
302 shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down
huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a
falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by
thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various
tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan
singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher
pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers
had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of
535 the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips
292 dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber
than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those
302 who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a
kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.	[539]
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.	

533 The rhythm is:

— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539] Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535
522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

GAMES

REED THROWING

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, "*Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!*" (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, "*Tingga, tingga, tingga.*" 524

The others cry "*Mate, mate, mate*" (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

524 Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

526 177 Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock [541] fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

524 *Lafo,* Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

word for coin, money. A player at one end pitches his disc so that it slides as near as possible to the other end, which is slightly tilted; his opponent tries to get nearer or knock the first one off. When one side has thrown all its discs, the other side begins.

All the other games I have noted are played by children. Elderly people remark on the fact that white people, both young and old, play and are not ashamed of it.

CATCH AS CATCH CAN

The simple form of catch as catch can is called *vulimea* or *veimea.* The caught (*vulimena*) may not catch again the one who caught him, they are *veitumbuni* that is grandmother and grandchild according to Lauan dialect; grandfather and grandchild in the terminology of Viti Levu. The players provoke the one who is in by calling out *"Vulimenggu,"* "He is an idle fellow," "Good day," "So your canoe has come to anchor?" When the game is over they call out *"Timbi o"* [meaning unknown].

A more elaborate form is called *veimbuka,* in Mbauan *veimbithi.* Two teams draw a line in the sand and make a small mound in the middle called the eye. A boy, called the *mbithi,* runs out from one side and tries to run into the other; but the opposing team runs out to catch him; the one who succeeds in touching him becomes *mbithi* and makes for the enemy's line; and so it goes on until one succeeds in setting foot on the line belonging to the other side; then his side counts one point, or *kai,* literally shell; this point is marked by sticking the finger into one end of the mound; the other side score from the other end. A boy may jump over the mound at the start.

Pulling up sticks is played as follows. Ten sticks are planted at each end; half way between is a line made in the sand. The teams line up one on each side of the line; they keep stepping or jumping over the line, but retreat as soon as the enemy try to catch them, until one sees his opportunity and makes a dash for the opponents' sticks. If he is caught on the way he is "dead" and out of play; if he succeeds in touching a stick before he is caught, he pulls it out and walks back with any prisoner the enemy may have made, and plants the stick at his own end. If all the sticks at one end are pulled out that side is beaten.

PLENTY OF SOULS

The game "plenty of souls" (*e levu ni yalo*) is played as follows. A serpentine line is made in the sand, one end being the "foundation village" (*koro ni yavu*); the other is the "dwelling village" (*koro ni tiko*). One boy is chosen as spirit; he stands at the "foundation village"; the others stand along the line half a circle removed from the spirit. Their leader asks the spirit, "The spirit from where?"—

He answers, "The spirit from Kendekende" or whoever it may be.

The man says: "What have you come to do?"

"I come to eat men."

"Can you eat my men?"

"I will eat at this end, eat at that end."

"Let us run in Naivindamu."

Then all the men run along the winding line, the spirit after them. When the spirit gets to the end of the first half circle he completes it, thus returning to his original position; then he can go ahead in pursuit along the line; thus the others have a start of three semicircles. If the spirit catches one before he reaches the dwelling village, that one becomes the spirit.

The "foundation village" is evidently an old village where the sacred ancestral foundation stands and which is therefore haunted by the spirit or god. Naivindamu is in Fulanga.

GAMES OF SKILL AND STRENGTH

Kitia is played by boys and girls. Two players, one from each of the two sides, squat down facing one another with arms hanging down, and sing:

Kitia, kitia, rara leka (short green)
Kitia Matailakemba.

When they have sung this rhyme once they begin to swing the arms and to hop, putting alternately one foot then the other forward, repeating the rhyme all the time. When one can do no more his place is taken by another, until all the players on one side are put through; that side is beaten. There are other rhymes:

Ndra ni ndovu ka sa lele.
La ki mbutuka seitavare.
Wasupai vuravura
Ona i nase tawatha,
Mate kethevia
E veiyasana.
Sa uru a satini;
Sa tatimbi
A mama silini.
Sa uru a kovana;
Sa thavuta a ona i sala.

A sugar cane leaf is hanging.
Seitavare (?) goes to tread on it.
The sergeant is arrived;
It flashes
The silver ring.
The governor is arrived;
He takes off his hat.

GUESSING GAMES

The word *vakasiri* means causing to fail. One player says, "Cause to fail (*bis*), the rainbow there."

The other asks, "What about the thing there?"

The first one says, "Flower of *mbithimbithi,* flower of *walai;* what is it you see? what is it I see?"

The second player will say, for instance, "What I see is a box of note books." But in the event the first player was thinking of a fly whisk, the second has failed; had he said "fly whisk" they would have been in agreement.

Vakatu or setting up is a rhyming game. The first player names a man, the other must give a woman's name that rhymes with the first, and so on till one fails. Thus, "Set up to Misilindi."—

"Miri."—

"Miri; Amini."

"Sikiti."—

"Senimili."

This is wrong because Senimili is a woman's name, it should be a man's, so the second player calls out, "Tukisolou." The same name may not be used twice.

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose
[156] great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman.

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Nato- 423
katoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of 562
Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes.

A man gets land through his mother; if he comes to live with his mother's 423
people.

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his 423
"edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven 614
put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole.

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except 425
as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as
i thovithovi ni ndraundrau, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The [766]
strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given
away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with [583]
banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman).

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring 425
a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi 583
gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held 565
by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers.

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing 425
to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal 604
uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. 565
Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou;

425 604 565 others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

563 425 Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

423 565 243 Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

423 565 Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[38] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Taliai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

422 All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

---

[38] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena,* food. 422

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau,* to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua,* probably from *tambu,* sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents. 301

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate. 431 425

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerei*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

431 425 It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

575 The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i. e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a
461 554 man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

all they would willingly give him in order to retain him. Joshua and his brothers were the hardest workers among the nobles; Joshua had the largest house next to Big House, and built for his brother Isoa the finest home for size and decoration combined; by hard work and forcefulness he had attained an importance quite out of proportion to his real rank. Nowhere have I found hard work to be so esteemed as in Fiji. 461 554

INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

YAM GROWING

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a
526 race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

262 Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula, kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted
177 planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242
244 A Lauan says:

> Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasea*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

the other hand, shallow soil with soapstone underneath as in Ndevo, Naiau, is no good 242
in a dry year. Various soils suit various yams; thus in Rasea some places are good 244
for short yams, others for long; yams from Rasea have a nice taste.

Land is cleared from April till June, beginning with the following of the reeds; these months are called clearing months (*vula i werewere*). As yam fallows bear little besides reeds, all that is usually required is roughly to cut and beat down the reeds and fire them, taking care to clear thoroughly a broad avenue all round to prevent the fire from spreading; however, it frequently does spread, but usually spends itself on barren tracts. When the remaining stumps have been cleared away the digging begins. 244

Digging is done with a digging stick (*i ndoko*), a pole 5 to 7 feet long, levelled at one end. Thomson (14, p. 339) says it "does little credit to the inventive powers of the Fijians." I have experience of yam planting and can say that the digging stick is far better adapted to yam planting than a spade; in fact Lakembans object to spades because the soil is full of roots, and forks bend and do not have the leverage of a yam pole. That is why the Fijian, who is neither a fool nor stupidly conservative, keeps to his digging stick, unless he can get what he calls a German (*tiamani*), a narrow oval blade in a straight line with the dowel, which he fixes on the end of a digging stick.

Sometimes the whole soil is turned over, a process called *thuki vovo*: it is supposed sometimes to do the yams good. In Ono an experiment was made of turning up only part of a field, it was found that the yams were energetic in the soil that was not turned. The reason is that if the soil is turned the spaces between the mounds are hot in the sun, and cold in the rain.

As a rule planters are content with making mounds in the undug field. This work which is called *ndoko* is done by the young men because it is harder; they thrust the stick into the ground and lever up the earth; then they thrust it in the next spot and so on in a circle some two and a half feet or more in diameter. The older men break up the clods and gather the earth into a mound with their hands or with spades, an operation called *rava*. The mounds, *i pukepuke* are usually made on one day and the planting done on another day.

The chief months for yam planting are July and August; some kinds can be planted later, and planting goes on, decreasing in intensity, as late as November. Old men used to advise planting at full moon; then the yams would grow big. Seed yams are called *mbulambula*, from *mbula*, to grow; when planted, they are called *i tei* (set). Any part of the yam may be planted, but usually the heads (*ta ulu*) are kept for the purpose. If the whole yams are used, they are cut into two or more parts. If a long yam of ordinary size is used, it may be cut across and the lower portion will be cut in two lengthwise. Placed in the mound with the flat inner surface turned up, a portion will produce three to five yams; if planted with the edge up it will produce one yam only, but it will be a larger one; in an intermediate position it may produce two. Two small pieces may be planted in one mound. Sometimes a very large mound is made, the chief yam (*kena tu*) is planted in the middle, and others round the sides. When a yam has been planted a reed is stuck in the mound to show it is occupied. The stalk, or "husk" (*nggana*), is sometimes given a reed to climb on, but generally it is allowed to creep on the ground. The yam that develops, the *uvi vou*, is called *ti* in the early stages.

The method thus described is the usual one and is called *lau ngga,* speedy digging. In Lakemba these mounds run into the thousands; in Mbau three hundred is considered a big field; therefore Lakembans who go to the West have a reputation for work; that is simply because they are accumstomed to plant large fields. Many people however have in their fields yams planted according to a method called *keli usu,* or in Tongan *kelikeli malie,* good digging.

> A very deep and narrow pit is dug by means of a digging stick. The earth brought up on the end of the stick is laid in one heap if it comes from the top, in another if it comes from below. When the pit is finished they first shovel in and break up the surface soil all round the pit till the pit is almost full; then the earth from the top part of the pit is piled up over it, then the earth from the lower part; the soil is then raked up all round and a mound formed about two feet high. The seed yam is placed inside the mound above the ground level. In Ono, however, they do not make big mounds because they say the sun heats the loose earth and the yam is dried up. If it is laid almost level with the ground the roots go straight into live earth (*nggele mbula*); in a big mound there is no place the roots can lay hold of. In such pits it is necessary to plant a whole yam or a very large part of one.
>
> Planters differ somewhat in their methods: if the yam is thick a pit 18 inches deep is sufficient; some prefer 3 feet.

Ndausinga, an expert planter and my chief informant, says:

> It is no good planting such long pieces unless they are slit over a length of about eighteen inches from the base in order that the yam may dry up (*maloi*), as it is a moist food plant, and that the juice may come forth, making the yam energetic; but if the set is too big and the water does not come forth cold penetrates the yam and reaches the head; so does heat; if there is much rain the yam grows badly and the leaves rot (*karatha*); if the seed yam is not dried up but remains fresh it is said to be *ngotangota* and the new yam gets diseased; this they know because when they dig up wild yams leaving a set, if the first yam was large the second will not be so because the set is moist; it is bad for the moisture of the set to reach the new yam. The new yam grows downwards and follows the pit as the soil in it is loose. It lies with us to regulate the shape of the yam; if we want it to have a good shape the soil in the pit is well broken up; if a clod as long as the joint of a finger is left the yam will press against it and that part will have a depression because the water of the yam goes first and the new yam follows. In Tonga, the land of origin of this

method, they dig up another hole with soft soil and put this soil into the pit; that is why they proceed fast with these pits, whereas Fijians break up clods and so go slowly. Not all yams can be used in this method, only *kaumaile* and the four *kasokaso* mentioned. *Kasokaso* should not be planted later than August. *Kaumaile* will grow to a good size if planted as late as October, for its tuber is fast.

Yams planted in this way are intended for shows and competitions, for they reach a length of six feet or more; I have heard of a yam in Tonga nine feet long. But the return is not in proportion to the labor, the size of the seed yam or the space occupied; for it is necessary to leave a clear interval of some sixteen feet between this mound and the next because the strength of the leaves begins on the mound but gets weak at that distance. If the yams are planted too close together, the place is overshadowed because a good set puts forth a lot of leaves. If a yam has too many leaves which cover the mound it will not grow big because it is cold; it is no use cutting off the leaves. That is why a land exposed to the sun is preferred for such pits because it prevents an excessive growth of leaves. If more shoots than one appear there will be more than one yam and they will be smaller; all shoots are therefore broken off except one. Energetic planters allow no part of the stalk to rest on the ground, but support it on reeds that no disease may affect it.

Experts often have little tricks of their own. Some put a flat stone at the bottom of the pit to stop the yam; the yam reaches the stone and its strength goes up again so that the head sometimes appears above the ground. This is done when the length is sufficient for a competition and it is desired to make it thick as well; for the strength goes up to fill in the yam. Maikeli used to place the seed yam over a shallow pit; when the stalk was long and the roots about a hand long he dug it up carefully, so as not to tear the roots, put a stick underneath it to hold it off the ground and dug a pit down very deep and buried the set over it. This is a Tongan method called *fakaeua;* yams so treated never fail to be long, but very few Fijians can do it because it requires skill and they have pity on the yams. Some uncover the yam when it has taken root and cut off all but a small piece of the set because it is of no use once the yam has taken root; the reason is the same as that for slitting the yam. Maikeli used to water his yams before sunrise and after sunset everyday; after watering he would cover the mound with leaves lest the water become too hot and the yams rot (*karatha*); if the mound is covered the heat is suitably moderate.

If the *wanu* or the *kaumaile* flower they know no other yam will beat it. The planter is in constant expectation of its flowering. If it is reported that the yam in such and such a place is flowering, every one knows it will be the longest and the others give themselves up for beaten at the competition.

Vola told me that Ratu Mara treated his yams to make them big by laying certain broad leaves on them; that year the yams were of a good size, but Melaia, Mara's sister, declares that all such charms are intended to kill, to make them rot in the earth and leave the soil incapable of bearing again; there are no charms to make the yams big; their growth comes

244 [254] as a surprise. To guard against witchcraft red *rewa* (*rewandamu*) and horse taro are planted on the borders of the field. In Lomaloma *lata* is planted against "raw eyes"; if a person with "raw eyes" sees yams they will not grow well.

A yam field should not be visited after rain, the reason being if legs or hands touch the leaves when wet, they will become *karatha* because water remains in yam leaves. Leaves, when *karatha*, look burnt, fade, and drop.

The crop depends on the weather. If there is too much rain the ground is cold so that the yams do not penetrate far. If there is sunshine till Christmas the interior of the pit is warm and the yams do well. If there is a prolonged drought, yams that are planted early do not come to much because the sun eats up their strength; the yams planted later retain their strength.

When Orion is in the west the yams are mature. Early yams come in in January if there is plenty of rain; but they are few. As the last year's stock is exhausted the young men are sometimes sent to the fields in January to get immature yams for feasts. They dig them up when the bottom is still white, cut it off, leaving about one hand's length and cover up the heads again; these heads produce long yams that very same season. This process is called *vakarete*. The bulk of the crop comes in about March and April, months known as digging months (*vula ikelikeli*). First yams for immediate needs are dug. When the yams have definitely ceased growing they are stored in little huts next to the plantation and called *lolo*.

242 244 Sometimes yams are planted two years running in the same field. This is called *lothi*. In that case they must be planted in June or July. They do not yield much. Usually yams are succeeded by sweet potatoes, bananas, or some other crop. Sometimes bananas are planted in a field of yams immediately after the yams have been put in; being small, the trees do not injure the yams. After sweet potatoes or other crops the land is allowed to lie fallow (*voavoa*).

244 Wild yams are called *tikau* and are eaten, except the poisonous kind.

Sweet yams (*Dioscurea aculeata*) are called *kawai*. They are not planted in Lakemba and are not esteemed. They are abundant in the bush and people sometimes come from the Southern Islands and beg leave to dig them up. They are generally fibrous and not to be compared to those cultivated.

TARO PLANTING

Taro is not planted on so large a scale as are yams, but is more esteemed. Only wet taro fields are cultivated in Lau, and these by irrigation along the streams. Such land is called *solove*. Swiftly running streams are most desirable, for sluggish water becomes hot and wilts the plants. The irrigation consists in dipping water from the stream with coconut shells attached to a stick, or flooding the fields by turning the course of the stream. 244

Formerly there were two kinds of taro fields: those cultivated by the *mbiti* method and those by the *lawvoro*. The *mbiti* method is now discontinued because it involves too much time and labor. It was described to me as follows:

> In a *mbiti* the grass is cut, fired, and the rubbish removed so that the soil appears; the body of the soil (*yango ni nggele*) is dug thoroughly; then conical holes are made with a special digging stick, which has a head like that of a javelin reed or an European gun shell; some of the heads were as thick as the post of a house. The pits thus made were as deep as four feet. The patches were encased in earth walls surrounded by ditches. Taro raised by this method grew as high as six feet, with tubers eighteen inches long.

By the *lawvoro* method the grass is cut and the taro planted in the midst of the rubbish; the holes being made with a pole (*i pasa*) (Pl. II, *A*) which broadens at its lower end, narrowing to a point; the blade is flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, making small conical holes.

Both cuttings and suckers are planted. In planting cuttings, the top of the root is removed with the stem, the leaves removed also. There is no special season for planting taro, although certain times seem to be more productive than others. For instance, taro maturing in November and December, when it is most needed because of yam stortage during these months, has an unpleasant flavor and develops an abundance of suckers. Occasional weeding is necessary until maturity, when it becomes harmful. In the days of the late Tui Naiau, huge taro fields still extended from the back of Tumbou to the foot of Kendekende; now only the upper part is properly cultivated, the work being done mostly in the evening.

SUGAR CANE GROWING

Sugar cane is planted in clumps here and there, in the villages or in the fields, merely for use in puddings. A charm is used to drive away the *kitu*, a small bird which eats the sugar-cane and plantains. The owner of the charm rubs certain leaves in his hands and points to a distant spot. The birds then fly to the place indicated. 249

Sugar cane, *nggai* (*Dracaena terminalis*), supplies a thick juicy root which is cooked in hot stones for three days, producing a substance which tastes like licorice. Such ovens are not often made as they are large and require that the stones be heated all night. 252

Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [177] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

431 643 The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 643

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*lama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

[539]

Eie eie	
A mbimbi a vesi;	The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e.	The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i.	The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva*; it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 823

823 use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

STARS AND WEATHER

502 821 The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka; Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

821 The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

821 502 Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

[533 529]

Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
It has come aboard, but it is little:
Quick, quick, etc."

501 Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, "*O oa.*" If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

NET FISHING

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [825] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[775 It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

[754 "Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,	Sinu . . . .
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]	sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba	come before, come behind, come inside, come
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,	outside, come all of you and strike here.
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai	
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.	

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as [643 was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

YAVI RAU

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief so decides, on the beach. Many fish which escape into the coral are pulled out.

In olden times a noble youth was appointed master of the fishing (*turanga ni nggoli*). He went around in a canoe striking any one who disobeyed.

MULLET FISHING

Mullet is here used to designate the fish called *kanathe*. Fishing for mullet (*thuka*) is done with a bag-shaped net mounted on two sticks.

Mullet fishing is usually said to belong to Tanggalevu[17] but precisely it belongs more to Semi of Tumbou who is the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu and to Ratu Meli of Naivi whose mother was of Tanggalevu.

A man of Waitambu had two daughters: one married into Wathiwathi; the other, called Ndranindongo, came to Tumbou as the wife of a man of Nandomole in Thekena. The people of Waitambu gave her mullet-fishing saying, "Let it be for your soup (*su*) in your house." With it they gave a gulley (*soso*) in Waitambu as dowry (*i kau*). Either she or a female descendant of hers gave the leading position on the seaward side to a daughter of hers who married into Tuware. Both the fishing and the gulley are still the property of the descendants of Ndranindongo. Formerly if any one besides the owners fished mullet there was trouble. If High Chief wishes mullet to be fished, he must ask Semi. If any one is building a house and desires to have mullets for a feast he offers up kava to Semi that he may instruct the women of Tumbou quarter to catch mullet. Semi then informs the women and they hold a council to decide matters and determine the place of each. All the women who are uterine descendants (*kete yani*) from Tumbou may take part. The women go out in two files, two to a net. The first two places are the "eyes" or "face of the fishing" (*mata ni nggoli*); these places have fixed owners as Semi decides: the one toward the sea belongs to Semi's wife and daughter (Semi belongs to Tuware as well as Tanggalevu), the other belongs to the Vaka's wife or some other woman of Nandomole. The other places are decided by "appropriating the fishing" (*usu nggoli*), which is done in this way: after some discussion they suddenly begin calling in quick succession: "I stand behind X"; "I stand next." And so on they scramble for positions, and are placed in the order in which they spoke. As for the ladies of Tai who are not connected with Tumbou, they merely await the decision of the others. Between any two pairs from Tumbou there is an interval in which the nobles are placed; each woman of Tumbou decides which ladies from Tai and how many will stand between her and the next Tumbou net. The position next to the "eyes of the fishing" is fixed; it is called "following the fishing" (*muri nggoli*) and is given to Big House. The last woman of Tumbou is the "limit of the fishing" (*i yalayala ni nggoli*); after that the rest follow in any order, and are known as "the bottom of the fishing" (*mboto ni nggoli*).

The two files advance in the sea looking for a shoal of mullets. If they see one the leader on the seaward side says "Do you see fish?"

The other answers, "I see."

They then start running and all the women know there is a shoal. The two leaders come together and so come the last two thus forming a complete circle round the fish. The leader says, "*Koso*" (cut off) or "Cross," and those who stand at "the limit" on either side run across to join, thus dividing the circle in two. If both circles contain plenty of fish the leader again cries "*Koso*," and each circle again divides in two. The fish try to escape by leaping, but strike against the upper part of the net

---

[17] Of old, all things were owned (*vaka i taukei*).

> which projects high above the water and fall into the bag below. When they have secured the fish they begin again, and so on till the leader is satisfied.
>
> After the fishing each lady of Tai presents a mullet to the Tumbou woman in whose interval she was. If a lady of Tumbou goes down for the first time she makes a feast called *ola* for Tumbou at any time after her first fishing. In return she gets all the fish caught at the next fishing.

Until the time when the people left the Old Village, the ladies of Tai used to give the twine to the women of Tumbou to make into nets; but the Tumbou ladies were in the habit of keeping some of the twine for themselves, so the women of Tai learned the art.

Mullet fishing also has its tapu:

> It is forbidden to tread on one another's toes before going out fishing or the person trodden on catches nothing.
>
> The net is whipped with *sinu* like an ordinary net only it is done in silence because it is clear for what fish it is meant.
>
> While fishing it is forbidden to touch one another or let the sticks touch one another; for two to eat out of the same basket; to spear or hit the mullet.
>
> The scarcity of mullet in my time was ascribed to ill feeling between the owners of the fishing over the question who should control it. As long as the Tumbu people got on well together they caught plenty.

I could discover no spirit of mullet fishing. In Waitambu it was definitely said the fishing had no spirits (*tevoro*), it merely originated in Waitambu.

The other villages do not fish mullet, not that it is forbidden to them, but they do not know how and have no nets. Besides, mullet only comes close to land between Waitambu and Tumbou.

FISH FENCES

Fish fences made of reeds are set up across the tracks which the fish follow when they retire with the tide. These tracks are known to experts.

> The plan of the fence, which varies somewhat according to the lay of the land, is roughly that of a crescent. The two wings must rest on flats that are dry, or nearly so, at low tide. The central part is doubled and the inner fence has an opening in the middle. At each of the corridors between the inner and the outer fence is a chamber with an opening so narrow that a man can barely squeeze through, this entrance is wider at the top than at the bottom, so that the lower the tide, the narrower the opening; it is closed by flaps so arranged that the fish can push their way in but not out. At low tide the owners come to collect the fish. After making sure there is no shark or sting ray present, they enter and spear or stab the fish.

These fences have to be shifted from time to time as the fish cease to come. They are not much used in Lakemba, as they are not very productive on the Tumbou side, fifty being a good catch as against hundreds in Viti Levu. In fact, it was I who revived this method.

In Waitambu there are "fish fence waters" which are proprietary. If a man sets up a fish fence he asks his wives and sisters to supply provisions for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught 226 in the fence.

LINE FISHING

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

> There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

> The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

FISH SPEARING

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which 226 there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind 228 of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels.

226 The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already in-
[279] toxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

CRAB HUNTING

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

BAGGING PALOLO

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

> In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.
>
> In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.
>
> The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it
> [430] pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.
>
> "It is the feast that we make for the country folk."
>
> 574 In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the 431
country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin 226
cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

TURTLE FISHING

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan 225
face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from 225
Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent 643
some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat 262
turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [787] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rourou mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs: [539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

YAWA FISHING IN MAVANA

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?" 226 773

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given: 226

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A, B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent. The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under- 342

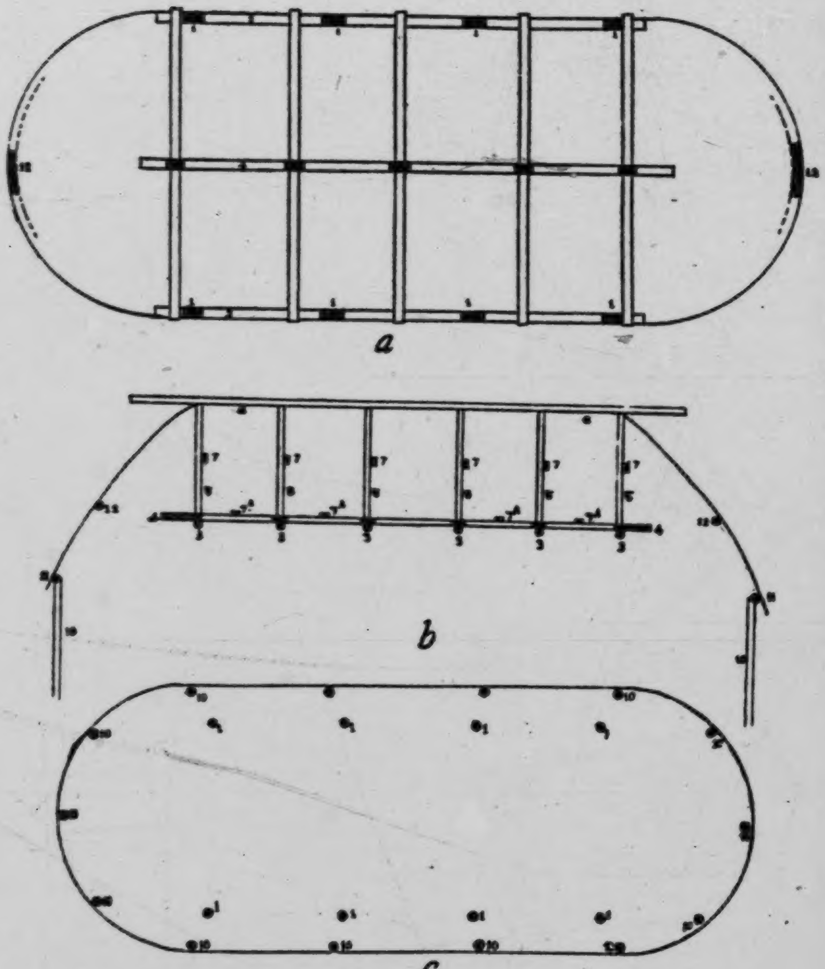


Figure 4.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, horizontal section showing tie beams; *b*, longitudinal section; *c*, ground plan, 1, main posts (*nduru*); 2, lower purlin (*kathu mbalavu*); 3, tie beam (*ithoka*); 4, base of king posts (*yavu ni mbou*); 5, king post (*mbou*); 6, ridge beam (*indoka*); 7, collar beam (*ilengge*); 7a, struts; 10, side post (*nduru*); 11, circular wall plate (*ilolo*); 12, apse beam (*feleanga*).

342

neath. (See Pl. III, *B*.) The thatch consists of dried leaves of screwpine made supple by drawing backwards and forwards round a stick planted upright in the ground. They are pinned together with the stems of a fern called *vativati*. When thatching, some men stand on the ladder which rests against the rafters inside the house, while men below spit the rows of thatch leaves on long sticks and pass them up. These sticks are called *thimba* (the same word means "dying," whether by coincidence or origin, I do not know).

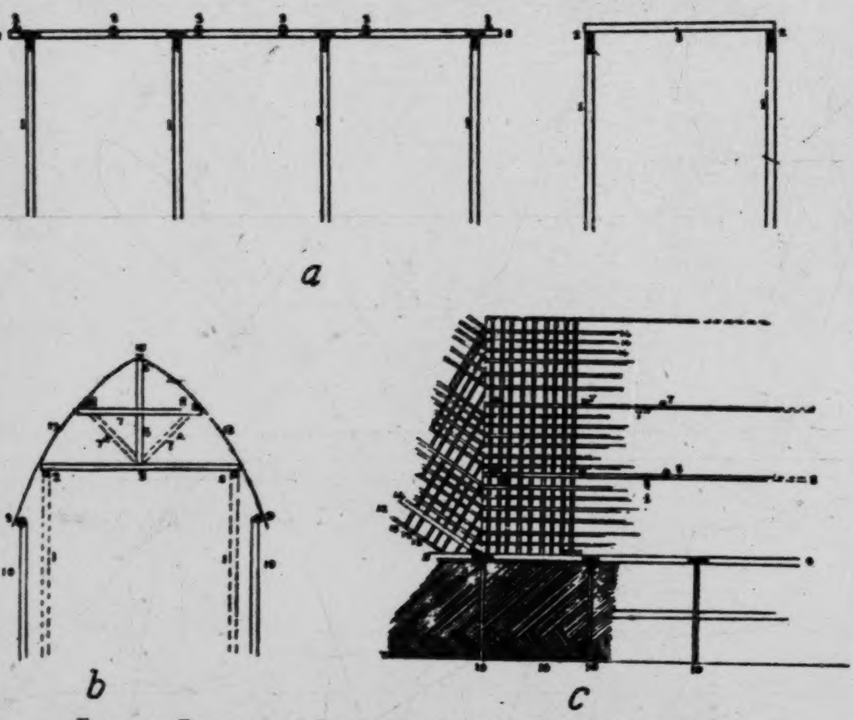


FIGURE 5.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, posts, tie beams, lower purlin (sectional view); *b*, cross section of the outmost tie beam; *c*, walls and roof (interior), 1, main posts; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 5, king post; 6, ridge beam; 7, collar beam; 7a, struts; 8, upper purlin; 9, wall plate (*inggasinggasi ni kalavo*); 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 12, apse beam; 13, rafter (*iso*); 14, reepers (*iapai*); 15, upper ridge (*indokarua*); 16, wall, *lotoa* style.

The ridge of small houses is covered with plaited coconut leaves; pinned down with sharp sticks called *isanggai*, this covering is called *teviti*. Coco-

342

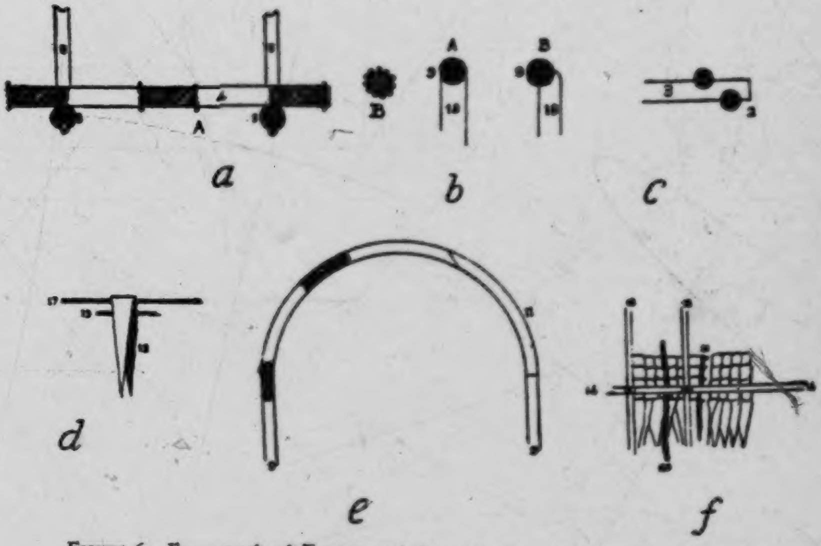


FIGURE 6.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, base of king post; *b*, connection of wall plate and side posts; *c*, extremity of a tie beam; *d*, thatch leaf; *e*, apse wall plate showing level and coir string; *f*, thatch rafters and reepers; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 4, base of king posts; 5, king post; 9, wall plate; 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 13, rafters; 14, reepers; 17, thatch carrier (*yavo*); 18, thatch leaf (*rau*); 19, leaf pin (*vativati*); 20, thatch cord (*wale*); 21, thatch joint (*nduta*).

342
284

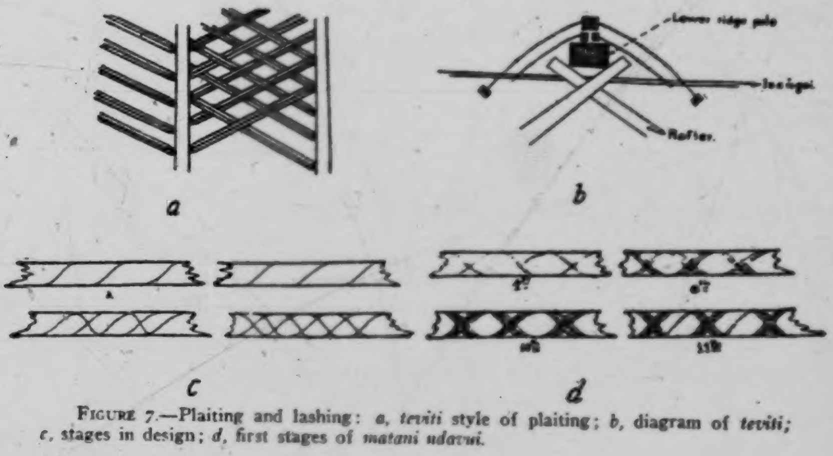


FIGURE 7.—Plaiting and lashing: *a*, *teviti* style of plaiting; *b*, diagram of *teviti*; *c*, stages in design; *d*, first stages of *matani udavui*.

342
284
531

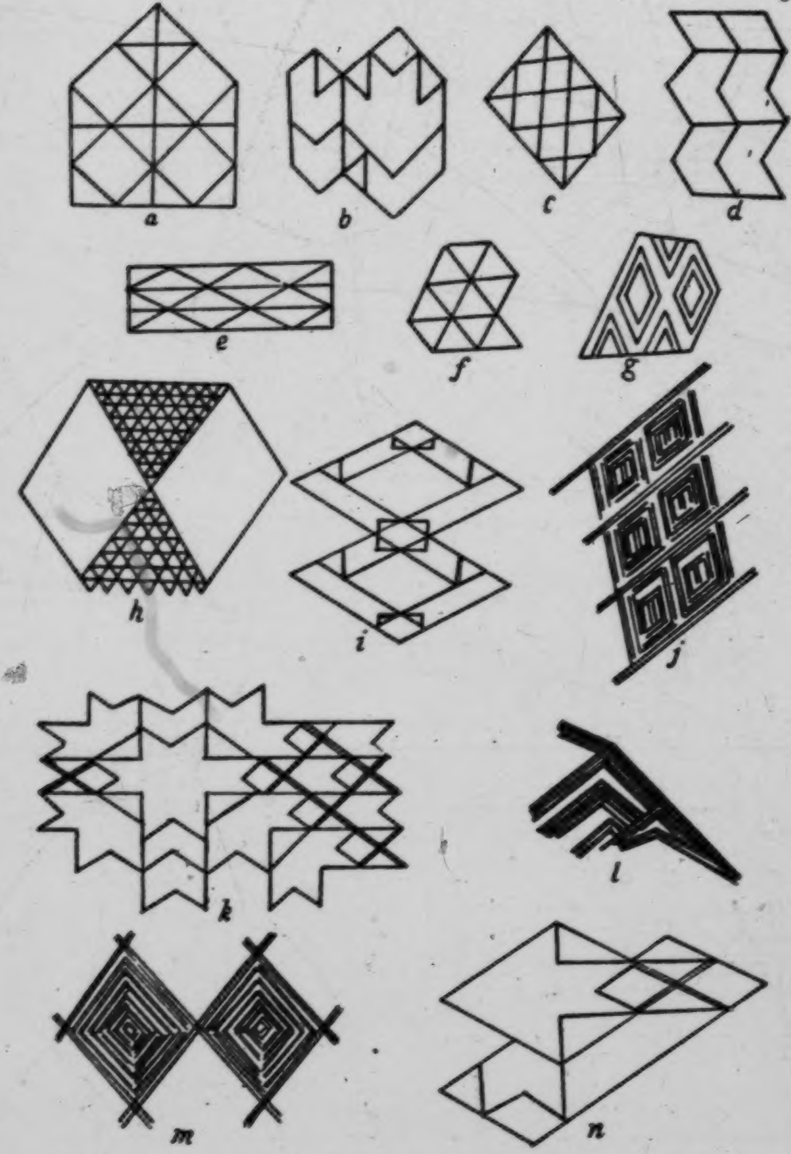


FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *b*, on main post; *c*, *fatuingalau*; *d*, *veikuku*; *e*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *f*, *manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g*, *matanindavui*; *h*, *fufuikiu*, diagram from main post; *i*, from extremity of base of king post; *j*, *fatuingalau*, diagram of strands; *k*, from a wall plate; *l*, from a side post; *m*, from a main post; *n*, analysis of *k*.

342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zigzag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti.*

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa,* a Tongan word *loto,* interior, and *a,* fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi,* is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

> Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.
>
> Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *vunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo.* The coir so prepared is called *somo.*
>
> The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lawalawa,* and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

---

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

names of patterns are Tongan;[19] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eyewash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts; for the tie beams *palataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who comes to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the evening another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

---

[19] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

> 342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.
>
> 342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.
>
> If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

CANOE BUILDING AND ITS CEREMONIES

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

396

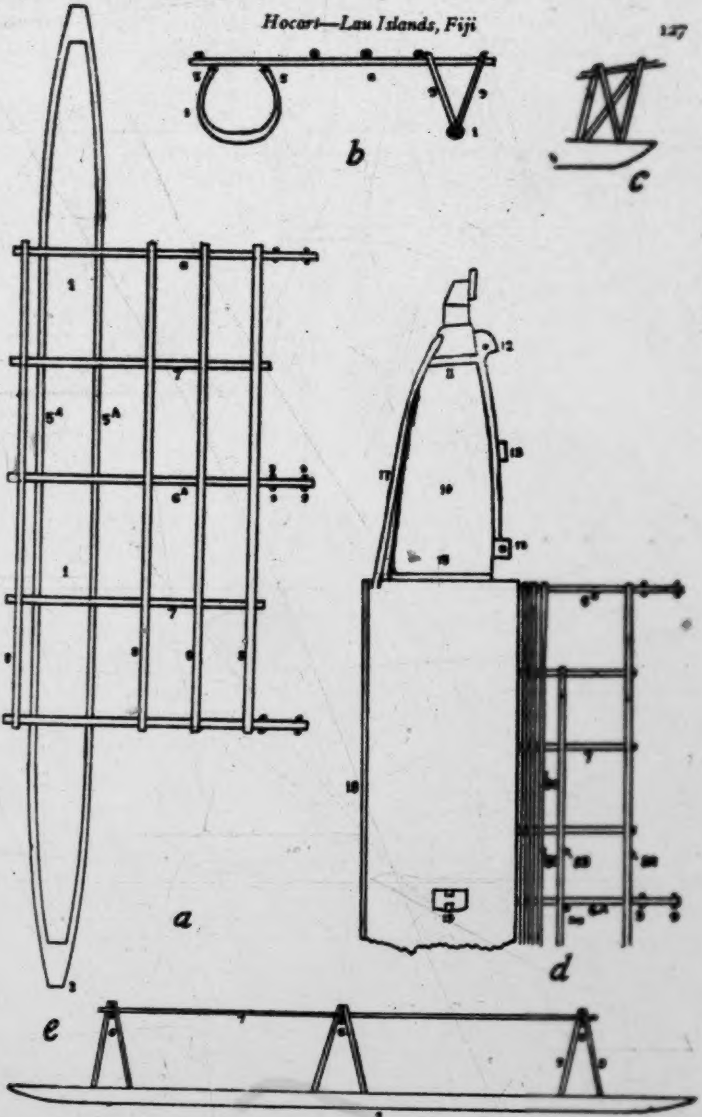


FIGURE 9.—The Kandavu sailing canoe: *a*, plan; *b*, cross section; *c*, attachment of outrigger; *d*, plan of sailing canoe; 1, hull; 2, float (*thame*); 3, bow; 4, stern; 5, washtrake (*sea*); 6, 6A, principal outrigger booms (*ikaso tu*); 7, short outrigger booms (*ikaso leka*); 8, outrigger crosspieces; 8A, B, C, *ravuniua, ivakosonindoko, isuasua*, spars; 9, float sticks (*ivatoto*); 10, fore deck; 11, emplacement of the point of the sail (*i tutu ni vu*); 12, *mbasoisoi*; 13, *sau*; 14, main deck (*rara*); 15, *latitumbu*; 16, *tavia*; 17, *ivauvaudawa*; 18, railing (*mbonina*); 19, step (*vungakoto*); 20, mast; 21, *roko*; 22, cleat (*teke*); 23, bow stay (*uthuimua*).

396 struction of a canoe seen at Soso in Kandavu. The hull is made of Fijian *kauri* or of greenheart. The lower end of the masthead is levelled and lashed to the mast; two stays called *tu ruarua* (I use the Kandavu terms) are fastened to the joint; the other end of one is lashed to the outmost spar, the end of the other to the lee side; one single stout stay called *tu ruarua* runs from the blocks (*i sandali*) on the masthead to the central outrigger boom and the outer float sticks. Two stays also run from the base of the masthead to the further blocks on the weather side of the canoe fore and aft, then back through two more blocks to the outer outrigger booms. The spaces (*ndungundungu*) under the fore and aft decks are almost completely partitioned off from the main hold (*ndreke*). The hold is partly covered by a platform on which a small hut may be erected. In larger canoes these become regular deck cabins which have flat roofs known as the sail shelf.

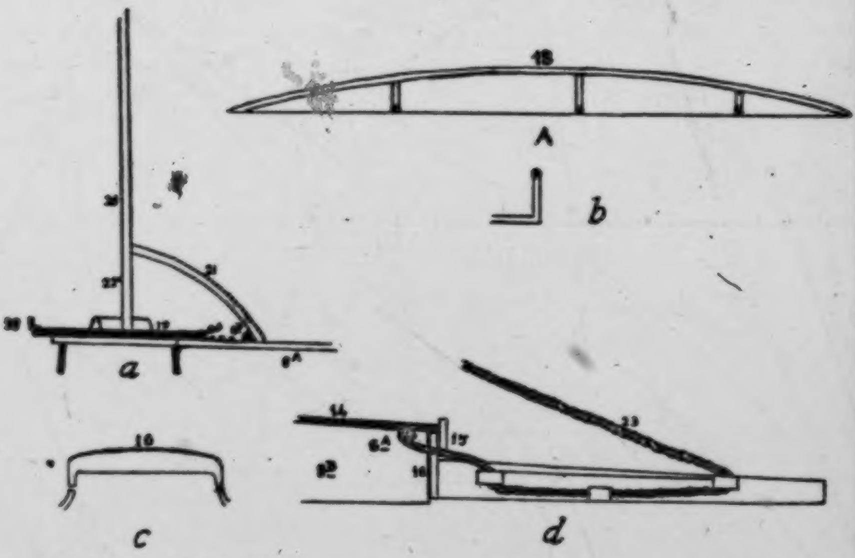


FIGURE 10.—The Kandavu canoe: *a*, mast; *b*, railing and detailed section; *c*, section of the fore deck; *d*, longitudinal view of the fore deck.

396
574 Large double canoes are spoken of as sacred canoes (*wangga tambu*). Any one can cut a dug-out paddling canoe and without ceremony, but large canoes are put into hands of carpenters, this entails feasts at various stages of the construction.

First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some 396
such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as ***mbutambuta,*** 431
amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, 574
and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way."

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain 396
tapu had to be observed; 784

> No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was 396
prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the 574
bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*).

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,	Bring the black cloth,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.	A rag for the sailor boys.
Ure, ure wi urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.	Bring the variegated tapa,
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back;
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

501 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu,* or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi,* and bark cloth is also called *masi.* 248 257

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau.* The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

> When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua.* The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi.* Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.
>
> Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

287 of *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

531 Patterns consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kathu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

531
386 Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai ndina; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

531 The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain is[illegible] rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakalewenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*). 531

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens. [177]

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905): 531 476 575

> The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-and-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the Presiden[illegible]hey will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secret[illegible] will withdraw the amount of money 476 575

476 575 required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

531 476 575 In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[38] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *koko* pudding which formerly was provided.

[804 192] The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga*; each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga*; the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

287 Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

---

[38] Ribs of coconut leaves.

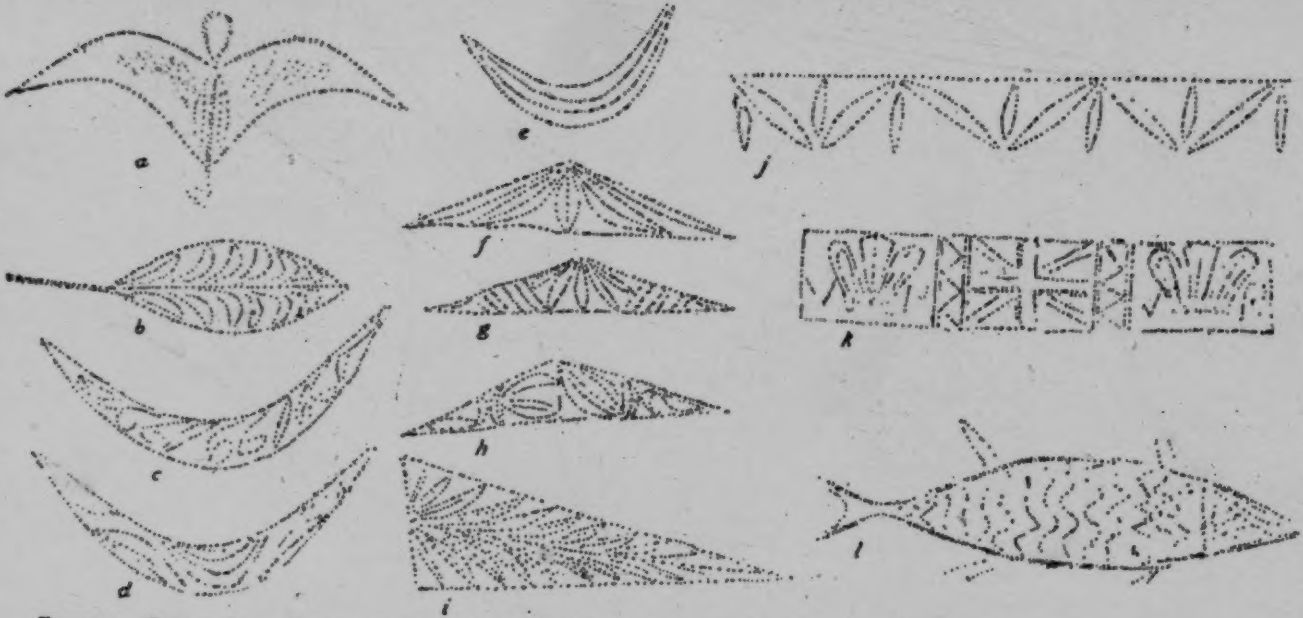


FIGURE 11.—Patterns for applique on tapas: *a*, bat (designed by Tongan woman); *b*, fan (*iri*, from Mbau); *c*, *d*, *e*, moon (*vula*, *c*, *e*, from Tonga); *f*, *mbua* leaves; *g*, *h*, *i*, name not learned; *j*, *mamba* leaves (Mbau); *k*, *sala ni Tui* (Mbau); *l*, fish (from Nasangalau). (Drawn from rubbings.)

287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 531 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga*. Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea*, not *tukisea*. When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

MAT MAKING

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form designs, but most are plain. [531]

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

OIL

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tomeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[789] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

INTRODUCTION

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish. 262

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk. 231

STEWING

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*. 252

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

BAKING

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro, 354

252 breadfruit, or whatever is required for puddings, is roasted, and banana leaves are heated to make them supple. When the stones are hot they are spread out with sticks and covered with leaves, on which the food is placed. If both taro and yam are put in together the contents of the oven are said to be like a sea-snake, in other words brindled. Taro is put in pealed, yams unpealed. Fish is usually wrapped in breadfruit leaves lain inside a fan palm leaf, an envelope of fish (*i sala ni ika*) it is called; but sometimes it is placed with sauce, inside a banana leaf like a pudding. A pig is singed whole, scraped, the legs are cut off, and the entrails removed by making a slit in the abdomen and one in the throat; then the belly is filled with hot stones and it is put into the oven whole; the legs are put in separately; the liver and the edible viscera are put in a leaf with water and put into the oven or else they are boiled and eaten by the workers. Oxen are no longer cooked whole, as it was found better to cut them up raw and let each man take his share home and boil it.

When the oven is full it is covered with old baskets and sacks, then buried. While the food is cooking, baskets are plaited of coconut leaves. The steam coming through the top of the oven indicates that the food is cooked.

354 Sometimes ovens are made in the evening and dug up in the morning; this is called *melo*.

PUDDINGS

252 Puddings (*nggalu*) appear at most feasts, but are seldom made except for feasts, as they involve much labor.

Most puddings are made with taro, none with yams. For some puddings the taro is roasted to keep its flavor. The taro may be pounded or grated; grated puddings are more esteemed. For pounding, the taro is placed in a long trough. A man stands on either side armed with the stump of a coconut leaf and pounds it into a sticky mass (*mavu*); then an expert wets his hands, seizes some of the mash in each hand and squeezes it so that it oozes out between the thumb and forefinger, then shakes it off in pellets about an inch thick. One who has the knack can throw pellets on alternate hands with great speed. The pellets are rolled in the sauce, then put into banana leaves which are gathered up round them and tied at the top with a piece from the midrib. The sauce is always made with coconut cream, raw or cooked; puddings with cooked sauce are more esteemed. Formerly if the sauce were raw the banana leaf was simply tied round the top of the leaf; if the sauce were cooked, one end of the leaf was turned down like a hood, then tied round; now all puddings are tied alike.

For white *sivaro*, pellets are prepared as above; for sauce raw coconut cream with sea water and sugar is used. This is a quick method. Sometimes the sauce is mixed with *Dracaena* juice.

Another pudding of which I do not know the name, was made in this way:

Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce. 252

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu, hoho,* and *ngoua,* this last a kind of mollusc called *veata,* in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed. 539

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

FERMENTING

Fermented food, excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food. 251

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled. 252

251

Yams are never fermented.

SERVING

264 [272] [415] Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264 565 When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu,* which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan 712 could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat.

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably describe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The following account has been received: 726 757 776

> Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:
>
> "What are these coconuts?" They said:
>
> "The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."
>
> The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."
>
> It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped: they might not be angry with the Matangi.

PREPARATIONS

648 When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauritambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

411 The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

726 European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i vakathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of 726
Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names.

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. 727
Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return.

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who 727
had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were 554
finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*:
"*To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia*." (Women's side, men's side,
intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls
sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: [831]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the 727
gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which 554
no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are 431
termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, 551
or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees.

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it 431
might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants 577
would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family.

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, 196
chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty.

726 From Matuku, Moala Islands, comes the following account of proceedings after the battle:

> The clubs of the manslayers, on the day on which they were presented with gifts, are called *ngandro;* the manslayers run with them to the temple. For four nights they slept in a separate house. If one of them wanted badly to see his child, he would go up to his house, touch the child with a reed from outside, kiss the reed, and go back to the common house.
>
> The chief then called Tumbunimalungu, now called Vaka (p. 223) would call out in the night, "The clubs are turned over." Then the conch was blown and all awakened. The clubs were not turned over; that was merely their way of doing. After four nights they went to bathe when everyone was asleep. The clubs were carried by Tumbunimalungu and the conch was blown. The people might not exclaim; if anyone did, he was *mokau,* that is, he would be killed in the next battle. On that day they carried the club round and slew any pig they chose, even though it belonged to the Roko Sau.
>
> E66 Of old, only the old men, not the women and children, ate men.

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old. 854

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

DISCIPLINE

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

855
264 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856
861 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861
603 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857
868 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

152 Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152 A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

PUBERTY

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145 from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 341 they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576 out "*ninggo,*" it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

CIRCUMCISION

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304 ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in 304 their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195 Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304 circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881 at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a [565] feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

304
881

The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tavu sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ronggavula*. [824] Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

[431] There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcised are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

881 The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [? nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was [431] brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women
see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have
intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision
was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

CONFINEMENT OF GIRLS

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seven-
teen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
302 indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light
in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate
feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the
upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was
brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw
eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new
person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
> 644 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> 857 panions played with dolls (*vakatalulueve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
> 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade
> dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all
> day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be
> 1 forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

881 country-folk (Lauandeko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more 177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning with Se (Flower), Ranji (Lady), are naturally women's names; but why Kunea (Found-it), Tangi (Weep), Lave (Lift) should be confined to women is hard to see. Perhaps this is merely a family tradition.

When a name is compounded of two words connected by a preposition, the short form is cut off after the preposition, thus Uluilakemba (Hill of Lakemba) is shortened not to Ulu, but to Ului (Hill-of). In the same way is Ndelai for Ndelvaivungalei (Hill-to-Vungalei), Vui for Vuiyanutha (God of Yanutha). The rule has exceptions; thus Volaivuna was always known as Vola, but then *vola* is not a noun that takes the suffixed possessive like *ulu, ndela, vu.*

As a rule, names run in families. The pedigrees show that usually a man is named after his grandfather, using that word in the native sense to cover the grandfather's brothers as well as the grandfather himself. A woman is oftenest called after her grandmother. There are many more cases than appear in the pedigrees, because frequently a man does not actually take his grandfather's name, but is called in remembrance of something that happened to his grandfather. Thus Saumbulinayau (Chief installed in Naiau) recalls the fact trat Rasolo was installed in Naiau; Umuumulovo (Baked in the oven) refers to Niumataiwalu the younger, who was killed and cooked.

This preponderance in favor of the grandfather is never stated by the natives themselves, who scarcely seem aware of it. One man, when it was pointed out to him, explained that children took the name of the grandfather in order that the descent might be known; a few men have been named after their great-grandfathers.

Next in order to the grandfather and grandmother come the father's brother and the mother's sister. Here again the fact may be disguised by the child being named after some event. I know only one child who has taken his father's name, obviously following European custom.

Some names from foreign parts are given because strangers come to Lakemba and give their names; thus Tuimereke (King of America) was given in honor of an American who lived in Lakemba; and Ratu Sikeli got his name Ralovo from the chief of Ndravo, where he was born. Names containing *rewa* belong to Navuanirewa, as Senirewa, Landuvunirewa (shortened to Landu). The various branches of Navuanirewa tend to have their special names; Nayathatambu, for instance, is found only in Naivi.

Very common are names for men beginning with Koroi (Town of), Seru (Comb), Wangga (Ship), and Thama (Outrigger), Lemba for women, *lemba* is a tree of which the fruit is used for necklaces, so *lemba* may be translated necklace. The second part of such names is the name of some person in whose honor the bearer of the name is called: Koroirathiki (Town-of-Rathika), Seruimalini (Comb-of-Malani), Wanggaituinayau

551 (Ship-of-Tui Naiau), Thamailawathi (Outrigger-of-Lawathi), Lembaikelekele (Necklace-of-Kelekele).

Koroi, Seru, Wangga are names given to one who has slain an enemy. Thama and Lemba are given on the grounds of kinship, and to inferiors. A man may call his younger brother's son Thama after his own son. Lawathi and Thamailawathi were both sons of Ndranivia, but by different mothers; the mothers, however, were sisters, and younger sister's son was called after the elder sister's son. Lemba is given to women in the same way; a *lemba* is an "after-eater" or younger sister. "If two brothers have daughters the daughter of the younger is *lemba* to the daughter of the elder. Lemba and Thama are used only for our inferiors."

Nicknames are called *yatha ni vakathivo. Vakathivo* (to lower) is the custom of shouting out some humorous remark after drinking a cup of kava; a nickname is therefore properly a name given at a kava party. One boy was nicknamed Silini (Shilling) and another Penitolu (Three-pence) because as a small child he had put three-pence in the collection plate; another was supposed to look like a billy goat and so was called Tamanime.

A man addresses his namesake as My Name, in Fijian this is *nonggu yatha,* whereas a man speaks of his own name as *yathanggu,* using the suffixed possessive. "If two men have the same name," says one informant, "they are related." Of course, it is generally because they are related that they have the same name, but a common name does seem to bring them closer together, and people sometimes speak as though having the same name were a close tie. I could, however, get nothing definite on the subject beyond the following example: Pasoni, a Tongan, is related according to Tongan custom to Repeka, because his father was born when her father, Leonaitasi Ngu, was in Tonga and so was called after him.

The people are reluctant to mention their names, and, if compelled to ask the name, will do so most politely. When asked his name a man will usually request a third party to tell it for him.

553 The father, mother, and grandfather decide upon the child's name. The naming is not accompanied by any ceremony, except of course for the Christian name which is given at baptism. If, however, a man wants to give his name to a child he brings gifts for the assigning of a name (*me i vakatoka ni yatha*).

ADULTS

461
577 A hard worker is described as a man who achieves things; a lazy man is unable to achieve food or goods. Such a man is liable to have it flung in his face at the first quarrel. Hard work is very much prized, and a man's

capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *manggoso*, which is combined skill and care in work. 461 577

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*. 461 157

RIVALRY

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait. 577 181

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name. 577 626

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by *mandua*. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest. 577 157

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on 157

157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

OLD AGE

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

CURSES AND OATHS

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (nona tamata sara nga), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

SEXUAL RELATIONS AND MARRIAGE

MORALITY

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of 195 women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) 834 is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedigrees. 834 Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of 848 Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

> Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each 834 other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They 186 may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.
>
> There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake*; *sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go, with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.
>
> Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or 834 if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

[834] dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; 848 if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as 302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives 587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as [171] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

> 584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. 585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and 585 the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.]

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vata*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife 518 is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be.

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second 587 marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342
574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574
602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587
611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684
643 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 593 a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614 ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 844 and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband [753] cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843 more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine [753] as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844 birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

844 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539] Ko thongge ni sa roaroa[19]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomona,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula,* a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone.* The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba,* taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndravu,* which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

---

[19] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851
Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644
their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751
make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka.*

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758
their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753
and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753
> for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757
> the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755
> patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

---

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

757
755 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fuafua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timca lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

759 The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things 757 and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755 boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431] feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758 the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The lowborn do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757 some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755 natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days. when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262] (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum; strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262] fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262] and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu, thangolaya, yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu, yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt
[262] water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndavuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it
[262] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uvuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
262 days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *evuevu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [262]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[m] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for diseases which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain 834] chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (*kuita mangimangi*); withcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

---

[m] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *vitiviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient
262 bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . ; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt
262 water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding: it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

757 *Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has
755 many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mbor̃ete* and six of *senitoa;* strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyari* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be 757
nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment: 755
four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add
oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [784]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka'tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and [752]
sinu leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of 752
reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. 757

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they 755
will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to
be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore
underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores
are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

TONGAN REMEDIES

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into 757
faito. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are 177
supernaturally effective. 755

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Mataja.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

757 777 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

TREATMENT FOR PREGNANCY AND BIRTH [23]

Pregnancy is called *mbukete.* Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda.*

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe,* octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu,* make an infusion for the patient to drink.

---

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 5

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

755

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are 757 known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the [171] name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that [828] he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in [753] the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

755 157 and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

> Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.
>
> The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

[753] Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

> One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

> (a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.
>
> (b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.
>
> (c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.
>
> (d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

THE CHILDREN OF WATER

756 177 There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there 756
was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?"

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

SPIRITS AND MEDICINE

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal 776
medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he 755
recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* 757
of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times.

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754 Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

> The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for ....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 787
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

> This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger [824] he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ...." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.
>
> This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [776] charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

787 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be
754 specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from
754 eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

VARIOUS KINDS OF WITCHCRAFT

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him: I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakalialewakalou*. I take a young branch of

> screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the 754 heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to leeward. *Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I* stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to."

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *sila*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula;	Beat without killing, beat without killing;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva.	Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

> Chop leaves, add water, beat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the [755] sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much.

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausau*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrance in Yandrana.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

> Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) [755] the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate.

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (Mbulu). They call that a dream. He stood to attention and said, 'After three nights her eyes will recover.' It was a soul; I don't know whose."

NGAN WITCHCRAFT

Tonga is said to of powerful witchcraft. It is also said that no European physic an cure a Tongan disease; on the other hand, it is said that Tongans are afraid of Fijian witchcraft, and should even a child in the house feign to do witchcraft, a Tongan, even though he be a person of quality, will walk out.

In a form of Tongan witchcraft called *fokotuu tapu* (to set up a tapu) leaves are prepared to infect (*manati*) those who come and take without leave. In Tonga it is hereditary. The difference between Tongan and Fijian witchcraft is that the Fijian charm is buried, while the Tongan is hung up, formerly where everyone could see it.

A Lauan learned from a Tongan how to cause *fulumingi*, a disease in which the penis is pierced and the urine comes out at the sides (another informant says it occurs about the anus and calls it piles).

> Chew four leaves of *seasea*, four of *vue*, four of *molau*, four of *kura;* mix them with turmeric, wrap in a bit of bark cloth, and hang up wherever you choose.

A Tongan will mention the name of all the leaves and then ask the spirit of the charm (*kalou ni wai*) to be gracious and make the charm effective (*mana*). Who the spirit (*kalou*) is the informant could not tell. The Christian God is now prayed to to make it effective. When the charm is removed it may not be thrown into the sea, or the owner will get piles. The owner must himself put it into a dark place, where the sun does not shine, or he will get piles. The refresher is as follows:

> Two twigs of the plant used for the witchcraft; these are scraped a little, and water is added; it is used for dabbing. Tapu: pig, dishes prepared with oil, scented oil, sea water.

Other Tongan forms are *kulakula*, which is quick to take effect, but is not always effective. *Lolokumete* can be produced in the same way.

WITCHCRAFT ON FISHING AND GARDENS

From Naiau come the following witchcraft for the sea:

> If women are going along the beach, to fish, the owner of the charm comes along secretly in the bush and taking a reed one and a half fathoms long, he rubs the point and the whole length with four leaves of *wavusovuso* turned alternately tip to stem. When the women are all in the water he secretly throws it at the back of the last one; she must not feel the reed or she will look back and the charm will not act. He then turns away and may not look back. The effect is that no fish will be caught.

754 Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*).

> Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. *If the yams sprout finely till the soil* is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

> Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

763 Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo,* calling the soul. Some came to life again.

763 Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565 the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[28] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

---

[28] *A i valu na luvenggu*. *A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

763 565 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 431 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 431 565 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth inside, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*taura wale nga*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 431 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rengurengu*) because after putting down the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles: these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*). From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764
the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304]
to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766
if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764
occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177
nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764
penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

---

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month
in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without
cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of
being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the
day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to
strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks
and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled.
The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death
(*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui
Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they
strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger
there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If
Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she
be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was
willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her
[425] kinsfolk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased
nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The
strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on
the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a
[589 Vakavanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were
304] sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman consisted of two oxen, eleven cases of tinned beef, and two pigs; there was 765 one oven from each clan in Tumbou, and one from Levuka, each including a case of beef or a pig. For a man of Tanggalevu and Thekena there was one oven from Thekena, one from Vatuwangga because his sister had married into that clan, one from Naivi because of his natural son whose mother was of Naivi, one from Joshua and his brothers, one from Narewandamu because Emosi and the deceased were "slightly brothers." The feast held for the death of Ratu Finau's little daughter was attended by Tumbou, Nasanggalau, Yandrana, Wathiwathi.

When the feast is piled up (*kele*) kava is served Tongan style (p. 60). Everything is done in noble fashion because the dead are noble. The feast is divided in the usual way with this difference that only those who brought kissing gifts receive a share; each person who brought one is reckoned as "one path." The portions are divided according to paths.

This death feast is observed by distant kinsfolk or subjects upon hearing of a death. The whole of Lakemba held one for King Edward VII.

The ladies of the *putu* go on sleeping in the house of the deceased. Formerly they stayed a hundred days, but the government stopped it because of the expense; for the kinsfolk of the deceased have to feed them all the time.

As long as the body is there the company sing religious songs only, but afterwards they sing Tongan dances and altogether have a merry time. Outside men and women are drinking kava, chattering, laughing, or singing. Formerly men used to hit the ladies of the mourning with banana suckers, but if a lady got hold of the man she stripped him naked. For an important death (*mate yatho*) this went on every night; one quarter of the village would say, "Let us go and strike the *putu*."

A writer in the Native Gazette complains that "the young men of the village go to drink kava in the house; every night they foregather there with the women, and evil arises from it. If there is a woman who cannot be achieved when in her own house she can be achieved in the house of mourning." Another writer, a man of Viti Levu commenting on this says that this custom is not to be found in Lomaiviti or in the outer parts of Fiji, only in Lau; he had never heard the terms *putu* and *tonitoni* before (11, Feb., p. 16, July, p. 16, 1891).

Nowadays at the end of five or ten days this comes to an end. On the morning after the last night the *tilatila* (beating the cloth log) is held. A few rapid beats are struck on the log on which bark cloth is beaten, thus raising the interdict on this work. At one funeral this period was shortened because the High Chief saw no one to look after the ladies of the mourning.

The tenth night feast (*vakambongitini*) is larger than the burial feast, though smaller than the *i mburua*. While the men prepare the ovens the

765 women of the mourning bathe, which they accomplish by going fishing. The "true kinsmen of the deceased" contributed one oven each group; one from Vatuwangga, one from Narewandamu, one from Tanggalevu and Thekena. The ovens are smaller than for the death feast, the pigs having been killed then, there is not much left for the tenth night; yet the oven for the tenth night is well attended to. While the young men pound the puddings the elders drink kava outside the house.

Of old the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula who watched and buried the body bathed on the tenth day. While ordinary baths were taken before, the ceremonial bathing was on the tenth day. This statement rests on the herald's authority only.

The morning after the death feast according to one, after the tenth night, according to another, sand is dug (*ta pata*). A layer of fine sand is spread out on the grave and over this a layer of coarse sand called *pata*. A small feast is made for those who take part in the work.

Later, it may be at the hundredth night, it may be earlier, pebbles (*kilikili*) are placed in a bowl of oil, and strewn on the grave to give a neat appearance. (See Pl. II, *E*.) The grave of a particularly beloved kinsman is spread with cotton cloth, bark cloth, and mats before the pebbles are strewn over it, so that the pebbles may lie well and the sand not touch them; calico and oiled bark cloth and scented necklets are laid on the top of the pebbles or hung on a horizontal stick over the grave, for anyone to take away. Bark cloth so hung up is called the fence (*mbai*) of the grave. That hung up for Ratu Isoa was given to the Methodist choir.

The feasts for strewing the pebbles was formerly a heavy charge. The dish in which to oil the pebbles had to be cut. The relatives of the deceased prepared gifts for the women who worked at the pebbles. The oiling is called *vakandranumi kilikili*.

The old style tomb consists of an oblong heap of earth with a revetment of slabs of the kind called *maka papa,* just like the foundation of a house, only on a smaller scale. Vaults are of Tongan origin and called by a Tongan name, *fonua loto,* "place within." They were only made for high chiefs. Formerly the walls and covering were made of slabs of *maka papa*. The late Tui Naiau's was made of cement and was opened twice, once to put in his widow, and once his son. The mound over his grave consisted of two tiers, the lower with a revetment of upright slabs, the upper with one of slabs laid horizontally.

Many people were buried inside the house of Matailakemba. The third Tui Naiau's eldest son was buried in the temple of Nautuutu.

If the deceased had many kinsfolk, they built a house on his grave to shade it. Portable houses (*vale siki*) were erected over the graves of nobles, consisting of a roof laid on the grave without walls or posts; three beams, including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with 765 cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or 211 in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the 805 record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tumbou [77] says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba,* the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu,* to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba.* The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [195] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

SPIRITS

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

776 196 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

MIRACLES

778 196 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

GHOSTS

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

775

"Because the house is closed."
"It is not."
"Ghosts are afraid of the dog."
"And when I had no dog?"
"They were afraid of the cat."
"And when I had no cat?"
Silence. "Why are you not afraid when there are two of you?"
"We are bold because we talk."

One night shortly before cockcrow a boy got up and saw what looked like a man going from the assistant-master's house towards the graveyard; he knew it was a ghost because his own hair stood on end, besides the person's kilt was bright. Once we saw a light on the hills: there was much excitement and a discussion took place whether it was a spirit, a man, or a bushfire; at last from its immobility it was concluded it was a spirit. A boy thus describes his meeting with a spirit:

> We were sitting together as it was getting towards evening, when my back was hit by a stone. I thought some one had hit me; but when we set off for the village the spirit came and stooped over the oven and ate the sweet potatoes in the oven. Tuvukapa, an old man, took a spear and hit the *tevoro*, which turned into a spirit. This spirit was like a man, but green like the shade of a reading lamp.

Melaia once asked me if I had ever seen *tevoro* in Europe, "the souls of the dead you know." One night a half-caste who had perished at sea came and sat on Loata's chest so that she cried out and awoke.

The soul of a man that has been slain is called a soul of the slain (*yalo ni moku*). The place where he was killed is feared.

Spirits are believed to strike people. A Lomaloma boy had a scar on his leg which was due to his having been struck by a ghost: one day he was standing in a paddock close to a grave; suddenly he became dizzy, his sight became dim, and he fell; upon reaching home he found his leg was bleeding.

Spirits enter a man and eat him. Some spirits are called devouring spirits (*kalou kana*).

A boy once walked in his sleep. Upon being told of it, he shivered with fright and declared a spirit had entered him. Some men are mad because spirits attack their souls (*valata a yalondra*), they lead their souls astray. There is a madman in Yandrana called Taikiko. He once fell from a tree and wounded his head on a stone. My boy supposed a spirit had entered him; though weak, he could carry big loads; the spirit must carry them. When they heard Taikiko spoke to himself, they said, "Ah! It is plain the spirits are with him." If Taikiko sings or goes round Lakemba some one will die; some say a person will die on the side by which he sets

775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo,* having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni wai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata,* possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo,* the *sise,* and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

DEITIES

INTRODUCTION

196 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou,* and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate" (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro, timoni,* or *kalou,* and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu,* especially in the Southern Islands.

346 Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure.* As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets; they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai. Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 78A If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and ~~the priest~~ divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 793 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him, "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

---

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

Emosi gives Tutumatua as the god (*kalou*) of Naitombo. His name is compounded of *tu* (to stand or chief), and *matua* (old). He is not embodied in any animal.

He is a well known personage and his name is familiar to all throughout Lau. He is a *tevoro* everywhere; there is no place where he has not a seat. He is identified with Ndauthina of Vanua Mbalavu Ndakuwangga of Thakaundrove; a writer (11, p. 172, 1896) identifies him with Komainatavasara of Thakaundrove, Randikendike of Ngau, Rathinathina of Namuka.

Tutumatua is an ancient god who lives on the shore and is often seen.

> He has a long penis. If a woman bending forward exposes herself and Tutumatua sees her, and say he is on the reef and she on the hill (about a mile and a half apart), he will have connection with her. Tutumatua was once in Totoya and saw a woman in the sea busy fishing; he erected his penis; it was a hard as wood. He saw the woman naked, and saw her private parts, and erected his penis, and then patted his testicles. The woman came that way. His penis missed her and struck a stone; where it struck there is a hole; there it is to this day, the mark of the penis as it hit the stone. In a certain island the women were fishing; Tutumatua saw a woman lying in a canoe: he erected his penis; it struck the woman's privates, that she fell into the water and died.
>
> Sometimes Tutumatua looks like a man; he is handsome; sometimes like a boy; sometimes like an old man with elephantiasis and white hair, who walks leaning on a staff. If he is like a boy, there is not as good-looking a boy in Fiji; if like an old man there is not as weak a man in Fiji. If he desires a woman he is a fine man with no one to surpass him; but if he once achieves a woman he changes into an ugly old man. Many women die of it, some don't. He killed Saro of Nasangalau and others.

Seini Otu, a woman of Waitambu, gave me the following account:

> Once when I was lying ill in my house, I heard a noise like a whistle, then Tutumatua entered into the foot of a post and kept on calling my name, "Otu, Otu, Otu." He did not cease for a minute, night or day. Nine months he kept assailing me. If I lay down in the daytime he called me. I could do nothing but religious exercises (*lotu*). I read my Bible continually except when asleep. As I kneeled in prayer he called out: "It is false. It is false." I was ill about five months. When I prayed the spirits said, "Amen." I only heard their voices, did not see their bodies. I used no medicine, only religion. There were Tutumatua and others. I alone heard them, not the other people. I know by experience the devil (*tevoro*) is strong, that when the World was created the devils came down from Heaven to inhabit the World.

Ndroka is mentioned by Emosi alone as being the god (*kalou*) of Tandravula. Should a big fire for a feast be built, though all the food in the oven might be burnt, one root would be raw (*ndroka*). It is said this was for Ndroka.

Thekena had as gods (*kalou*) two young girls, known as the Two Children (*koirau na ngone*). One was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha, (Bad).

> They are the children of Tui Vakano, a god of Vakano. Their ship is a small bird called *kaisevau*; that bird was the god of Thekena. The two birds sometimes enter a house where there is a sick man; if they fly away and one comes back it is Good, and the sick man will recover; if she does not return he will die. If Good

carries away anyone (his soul) he will recover; but if Bad carries away a child it will not recover. They once came into the native medical practitioner's house; the people shut the door to kill them, but they could not find them. The Two Children are always about. There are plenty of *kaisevau* about, but only two goddesses (*vu*) are the Two Children. They continually come into the house of Poasa of Thekena. If he is ill they come to see him; in his sleep he sees them standing beside his bed as small girls.

The people of Thekena may not speak of a child in their own clan or the Two Children will be angry and they will kill the child; so the people of Thekena call their children rats (p. 215).

Thekena were the priests of the Two Children. Their house was Nailangombakola in the old village; the name means "the log on which the body of the slain rests," and it is explained that dead bodies used to be offered there, and the name referred to the laying of the body at the door. If a chief ordered a man to be killed, the body was brought and offered up (*vakathambori*) before the door. Bodies were offered to the Two Children because they were goddesses (*tevoro*) and gods were chiefs. If the people were about to go to war, they went to the god's temple and offered up food there (*vakathambo*). The priest would say: "Go ahead; they will be beaten." If an enemy were killed, he was brought and offered up at the door. This was spoken of as taking a thing as *i singana* to the temple. If a child were killed, they would entreat and entreat on its behalf and it would recover; if it recovered they knew the soul had been taken by Good; otherwise it would not recover. The Two Children did not teach any medicine; the priest just said, "Go, all of you; it will recover." Then a big feast (*i mandrali*) was made to offer up at the temple where was the priest, and presented as their thanksgiving, because their wish was accomplished.

The Two Children are the children of the goddesses that go by the name of the Two Ladies (*koirau na marama*), the Two Women (*koirau na alewa*) in various parts of Fiji. In Lau they are known as *koirau a alewa matangi* or simply *matangi;* Lauans interpret *matangi* as the Tongan for wind.

If they desire a man they kill him, for they follow the ways of Tutumatua; if they have connection with a man he becomes pregnant. They appear as white ladies or as Fijian ladies, or as old women; if they desire a man they appear as girls with neatly hanging tresses. They caused the death of four men in Waitambu where they dwell. One Apakuki met the Wind Women among the mangrove trees; they had black skirts on; one had her hair combed in European fashion, and one wore it fuzzy in Fijian style. Apakuki took them for Tongan women; afterwards it occurred to him they might be the Matangi Women; he inquired in the village: no one had seen them, so he concluded they were the Matangi. He was stricken and died after four years.

One man was carrying a letter in Thithia. The two Matangi Women stood by the way; he desired them. The spirits (*timoni*) proposed that they should smoke; the man complied. As they were standing they disappeared in the ground and the man died. A woman in the village went and found him, and came to tell her kinsfolk. They came and carried him to the village.

In some island in Lau is an eel: which if anyone kills, he will die; if it appears it means someone will die in the village.

The god (*kalou*) of Tanggalevu is Ulupoko (*ulu*, head; *poko*, body).

He is all head and no body. His appearance signifies that someone will die. If he bites a person's hand in sleep, the person will die. If Tui Tumbou's eldest son were in Matuku and dreamed that Ulupoko was biting his hand, he would know someone is about to die, and it would come to pass within one or two months. One morning

Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yanga*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *kamakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 778
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua,* sometimes as *tevoro,* but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

773 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

Tarukua ran away. That is why Tarukua is still waterless. Kendekende is the source of the stream.

In Tarukua they tell the following story: The *tupua* of the Lakemban villages went to steal the water of Kendekende. They went at night when day was drawing near. They each of them carried a water bottle. When they reached the spring the god of Tumbou, the owner of the spring, was not in sight; so they filled their water bottles. When they had filled them, the owner of the spring arrived. Then the god of Tumbou was very angry and drove them away, and the god of Tarukua ran, and ran fast, because he was glad that he had got water. He tripped over a big stone, as it was still night, and fell down flat, and his water bottle rolled away, and was cracked, and all the water was spilt, and so there is still no water in Tarukua at the present day. The various gods went and poured out the water in some places, and so there is plenty of water there to the present day.

Another story relates:

The people of Kendekende (it is not said that they were *tupua*) sailed to Naiau. There they found the bird called *kaisevau*, and they could not sleep because of its noise. When they were about to return, Tui Lakemba said, "You men of Naiau, go and catch the *kaisevau*." The people of Naiau, who were then very numerous, caught them, put them in baskets and landed at Wanggatalatha. The chief met them on the beach and told them to dig an oven; so they dug one large and one small one, which are still to be seen a little beyond Wanggatalatha just off the road. The chief on being told that the oven was dug, ordered to light it. The chief thought that they would throw the birds on the oven inside their baskets; but the people opened the baskets and poured out the *kaisevau* into the oven. They all flew away. Therefore the chief drove some of the people away and they are now in Tonga. The people of Lakemba were foolish to dig a huge oven thinking the *kaisevau* to be a big bird, whereas it is quite small, so that their labor was wasted.

Another version states that the birds were brought from Nukunuku, where they are plenty among the mangrove trees. This is probably not a fairy tale (*tala tupua*), since the evidence is there (*sa tu na kena i vakandinandina*); it may be true.

I received several accounts of places inhabited by spirits:

There is an island called Mburotu. It is the land of spirits (*tevoro*), namely, spirit women. It lies within the sea, and is not seen above. If it is about to emerge at any place and a boat is in the offing, it sinks again; if it sinks the swirl of it rises up. A Totoya boat came near it but it sank again, and a red coconut spathe (*mbarawa kula*) was cast into the boat. If the women of Matuku go out at low tide, at dawn they find red reeds that come from Mburotu.

There is a cave in Munia with two rocks, male and female; the breasts are visible on the female. These stones are memorials that Koroimbo lay with his wife.

There are also Children of Water in Munia. They are small and have white skins. They appear to women when they go to fish.

Tutumatua was in Munia with the god (*tevoro*) who lives in the Lomaloma passage. They were gathering coconuts. The other god said to Tutumatua, "What can you do? Climb or husk nuts?"

"Both," said Tutumatua, and climbed the trees and picked nearly a thousand nuts of a kind so hard that it can only be husked with an axe. They had no stick to husk them so the other god husked them on Tutumatua's penis. It hurt Tutumatua, who fled and said he would not be found again in Munia. It is supposed Tutumatua fell from heaven; he is Beelzebub.

77b Ndauthina is the spirit of Nautu and is also a god of war. His priest at the present day is Eliesa who uses much dreaded medicines which Ndauthina gives him. His abode is in Ndalithoni. Ndauthina is the same as Ndakuwangga, a god (*vu*) of Taveuni.

Ko mai Naisoipu is a spirit in the clan of Mualevu. He is incarnated in a snake. There are many people who dream of him and nearly die of fright.

The god of the island of Munia is Koroimbo. His rafters are made of a fish, the *loulou;* he uses octopus for halyards and his pig is a fish. These abound around Munia.

Ndimailangi is a *tevoro* who is the goddess (*kalou*) of Uruone. The reason why they have her as goddess is this:

> One day an old man was working in his sweet potato field in the place which is their graveyard at the present day, when Ndimailangi fell from heaven, and turned into a monitor. The old man said, "That monitor which has fallen I shall roast and eat."
>
> The monitor said, "Will you roast me, or I roast you?" The old man went and seized it and went to light a fire. The monitor said, "Let me live, and I will be your goddess of sailing."
>
> The old man said, "When we sail it is I who am pilot."
>
> She said again, "Let me live and I will be your goddess of wealth."
>
> The old man said, "If we compete in wealth it is I whose wealth is greatest."
>
> The monitor said, "Let me live; let me live to be your goddess of war."
>
> The old man said, "War indeed! See! by my might I have bound you."
>
> The monitor said, "Let me be your goddess of war."
>
> He said, "It is well," and released the monitor.
>
> Ever since Lomaloma never fought, only Uruone slew men; but the nobles of Lomaloma just came and ate the dead men.

The goddesses of the clan Sau in Yandrana, Iloilokula, and Ra Marama, live on a promontory called Nggaraileka in Vuniyavi. No one may go there without cause, or they take him and have intercourse with him; if a handsome man goes they kill him. It used to be forbidden to be impudent near their abode, as by wearing a turban. They appear in human form. Those who consulted the goddesses brought a bunch of coconuts; the priest rolled on the mat, grunting as he did so. The gentlemen said, "Give us an answer," but he only grunted. Then he would assume a woman's voice and lifting up the bunch shake it; if one fell down, it meant a man would be killed.

The clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana has a god called Rereakalou.

> He is useful at reed throwing. His name comes from the fact that if a reed thrown by a man of Mbaumbunia lies, the next one, though it come with speed, turns aside on approaching the Mbaumbunia reed; hence he is called The-god-is-afraid. The priest used to touch the patient and he recovered. Fijian gods were true: if a man failed to present the first-fruits to the god, the god made the man's child ill. Rereakalou was incarnated in a dog.

The god of Yawalevu in Yandrana is Tutumatua.

He was turned out of heaven; he is a fallen angel. He is a brave god; he is fond of women. If they were preparing to go to war they went and twirled the sacred coconut (*vakawiri mandingi*). This coconut was kept in the temple; the people offered it up; then they twirled it, and divined what would happen. If Tutumatua carries off the soul of a man Ananaiasa cures him by touch because Tutumatua is Ananaiasa's god. The temple is Nautuutu. He is incarnated in a white crane.

There is a god Semo in a side of the oven of Yawalevu, who is incarnated in a grasshopper. They say in jest it is a low-born animal because it is small.

The god of Thenu is Eleilakemba.

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana is Lauthala by reason of Rereakalou. Another is Vatoa; the ancestor-god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, especially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

There is a stuffed stone (*vatu sososo*) at Muanivatu at Yandrana.

A man puts a leaf in and says, "Plate of my food, I go to Vakano; let me not be late; let me come in time for the pudding." It is also good for women: "This leaf I stuff in that I may meet the woman I am going to see. May we meet alone in the path to talk." It is no use for fishing. Sometimes it is true, sometimes it does not come true. It is effective (*mana*) through a spirit; a supernatural being (*metha tani*) lives there, a demon, Tutumatua.

Mbatininggaka (Crab's-claw) was an ancestor-god of Narothake, given to planting. In proof of this the following story is told:

Once there was a famine in Lakemba. The ancestor-god of Lakemba went to Kendekende and ate pounded cinders, but Mbatininggaka had breadfruit in Wamalutu. The god smelt the ripe one and looked for them. He was found with a ripe one and driven away. You can still see his footprints. He leapt into the sea and the place into which he jumped became a great pool. His temple was called Valetho (Grass-house).

One man says he was embodied in a *nggaka* crab. If such a crab pinches a man of Narothake in the arm he will die; another says he was embodied in a hawk and they used to salute the hawk. He was the god (*tupua*) both of Narothake and of the nobles of Tumbou.

The god of Lomanikoro, Nukunuku, was Leka (Dwarf); his abode, the frontier; his embodiment, an owl. Formerly a round stone called Vakasaova was worshipped, in Nukunuku, a share of the fishing was put on it. "Doubtless the spirit entered the stone." He was the god of the whole village.

The god of Vandravua, Vakano, is Mbulakambiri, a rat with white stripes. That is why in Vakano the children were called rats, not children. The temple was beside a big chestnut tree; in former times a female rat came out from there followed by her young.

776 Tui Vakano is the chief god of Vakano; that is why no man was formerly a Tui Vakano; the title was forbidden to men since Tui Vakano dwelt in the Nether Regions (Mbulu). I do not know what clan was priest. He was the god of the village, not of a clan. He is said to have been the child of the High Chief, an abortion, and he came to live in Atapu.

His temple was called Atapu and the battle cry (*i vakathavu*) of Vakano was, "The offering lies in Atapu." He was the father of the Two Children of Thekena. He was a strong god, a fighter; if a god came from some other state it was he who drove him away.

Lewandranu is the goddess (*tevoro*) of the clan of Nakambuta in Nasangalau. It was not certain whether she was Tokairambe's sister or mother. If they were brother and sister, Tokairambe was the elder. She enters into a dog. If she is angry with anyone she makes his child ill.

Thurutangitangi is the god of Nauto-nggumu, Nasangalau, and is embodied in an owl. There is no relationship of *tauvu*.

The god of Ndreketi, Nasangalau, is Mbatingasau. The hawk is his ship like Tokairambe of Katumbalevu. Ramasi supposes that Ndreketi and Katumbalevu are kin, for both are heralds.

The gods of Loma, Nasangalau, are two women called Raluve and Koilasa [? *kuilasa*].

They are flirts (*wendewende*). They still appear. If they like a man they have tresses and look pretty; if they dislike one they are covered with rash. They are dreaded goddesses. They sometimes order a skirt to be made and hung in the house to be their skirt; if anyone takes it he falls ill.

The god of Wathiwathi was Nanduruvesi Raisorovi, also called Weleilakemba; his temple is Nasavanithangi (Temple-of-the-wind). He was questioned if a war or a voyage were preparing; his priest trembled and spoke. Veikau had the same god. No animal of Raisorovi's was known.

The clan of Mataivungalei in Wathiwathi had as god a big stone some five feet high and round, and called Taindreve.

It is surrounded by small stones. If the people of Mataivungalei make an oven they do not remove all the food; for if they do so the big stone comes and embraces (*ronggota*) all the stones in the oven and carries them away. The people dare not go and get them back.

Ulunawale (Head-only) is the god of Tarukua, Lakemba. He is evidently the same as Ulupoko in Tumbou.

Tui Oneata is the god of Oneata. His incarnation is partly snake, partly eel, partly sea-snake.

Once he appeared in the path, was picked up, wrapped in a leaf and placed at the foot of a post. The priest began to shiver and called for hot embers which he ate. When he had finished the snake was not to be found. The priest said Tui Oneata wanted a big feast to be made; it was made and taken to the priest's house, who ate

776 of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

773 An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

601 The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix *tau*—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word *"tauvu"* therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu;* the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

> 773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. 602
The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging 776
to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might 794
be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

> It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.
>
> The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).
>
> When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu, | Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts, |
> | Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai. | Shoot and draw back. |
>
> As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

776 Ka turua a wai ni sosou.	The milk of the coconut drips.
794 Ka tangi a kena nggolou.	And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta,	The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula,	The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya.	To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits.

The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka,	The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua.	The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduvu* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him.

The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776
794 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

> I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduvu*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduvu* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.
>
> Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would 776
go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to 794
make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark.

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

DIVINATION

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri man-* 787
jingi (*vakawiri,* to twirl; *manjinji,* a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man.

LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat.[57a] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and following it reached Waggatalatha. She picked up some coconuts and tied them together and she embarked on them and drifted away westwards. Her only food was coconuts. So she went on and on and Lakemba was far away; then the lady lay down. A big bird came flying and obscured the sun. She thought rain was going to fall, but she looked up and saw that this great bird was coming. She stood up and the great bird swooped down to devour her. Then this lady got up among the feathers and clung fast to it. The bird flew up and strove to eat the lady but could not; then glided down again. When she was over Leleuvia near Mbau and Sinatelangi saw a large wood, she resolved to jump, no matter if she were wounded, her one thought was to escape. She let go and fell right in the midst of the trees, and the branches were as a fence over here as she stood on the ground. The bird again attempted to reach this lady but could not, so he left her. Then the lady perceived that the bird was gone so she walked about and came to the beach and bathed.

[57a] A kind of game?

Now in those days Mbau was the village of the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka; as for the nobles of Mbau they had their village on the mainland at Kumbuna. An old man of Levuka went to fish; his son was still a child and wanted to eat broiled fish; so they went to the island of Tomberua. They landed there and saw the footprints on the sand. The old man followed them and went up into the wood and found Sinatelangi there. She was like a ripe orange in hue, but he was dark skinned. When he saw her he thought she was a spirit and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You stand there a spirit, we come as men).

The lady answered his words and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You come as spirits, and I stand here human).

He said, "Whence do you come?"

"I come from Lakemba," she said.

Said the old man, "Where is Lakemba?"

Sinatelangi replied, "Towards the rising of the sun."

"Where is your canoe?" he asked.

"Coconuts were my canoe," she said, "I ran away in anger, and I went and tied coconuts together to embark upon. Then a *latui* came flying and perched on the coconuts which I was sailing on. I climbed on to the bird; it flew this away and came to perch here, and so I dropped off."

Then the old man said, "Let us go, eh!" So the father and the son conveyed her and went to Mbau. They resolved to hide her lest the nobles of Mbau should know and take her away. As they drew nigh to Mbau they lowered the sail and wrapped up the lady in it. It was dark. The old man admonished his son not to tell. He then carried the sail and took it into his house; he put it straight on the shelf. His wife asked, "Where is the fish basket?"

The old man said, "It is in the canoe."

"Why do you bring in the sail in such a hurry?"

"It's nothing," he said, "the rain is coming; it might get wet; go you and get the basket."

The old woman went to get the basket. The husband then climbed up to the shelf and untied the sail, so that the lady lay at ease in the sail; but he did not tell his wife about this lady. Then they ate, ate. When they had eaten he took what was left of the food and placed it on the shelf saying, "Here stands my cold food." The lady ate it. Thus he went on feeding her.

One day they caught a big fish in Mbau, a *sangga*, and ate it there and then. The children came and took the bones of the fish to make themselves bows. Then a woman of Levuka and her grandchild went to trade on the mainland at the village of Kumbuna; she was carrying a piece of that big fish by way of provisions. As they sat in the house of a nobleman the child cried with hunger, and the grandmother said, "What are you crying to eat?"

The child said, "Where is that fish of ours?"

The grandmother drew the fish from the basket and gave it to her child. As the

539 child was eating the nobleman saw the flesh of the fish and said, "What is this? The flesh of a fish or what?" He said to the woman, "What is your child eating?"

"Fish, sir."

"That is a big fish you have eaten, eh?" The woman wished to conceal the fact but could not. "What is that your grandchild has made a bow of?" The fish and the rib of the fish were brought to the nobleman. Then the nobleman said, "Heigh! but this is a big fish indeed you have eaten." The mother and child withdrew and the nobles of Kumbuna gathered together. They discussed and discussed. Then the chief said. "Let the Levukans be fined."

The envoy to Levuka went to tell them they were fined. The elders of Levuka decided to go and get stuff to pay their fine. The old man went to ask the lady from Lakemba, "How is your country? Can we go there?"

She said, "Yes."

Then the old man gathered the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka together and said, "Repair your canoes." The cabin was divided into two: in one room was Sinatelangi; the old man put her there in the morning early, wrapping her up in bark cloth that no one might see her. This part he called the holy (*tambu*) place for their god (*kalou*) to dwell in. "Let no one enter here," he said, "this is the room of the god (*kalou*) who is to guide us." As they went on their way the old man went to lean against the post next to the sacred part to ask Sinatelangi the way they should go. He kept saying it was their god; not one of them knew that it was a human being that abode in that part of the canoe; only the father and the son knew. They sailed on and came to Levuka in Ovalau and wished to make pots there; but this old man who was hiding the lady on board said, "Let us go to Koro." They arrived in Koro, and the men of Mbutoni said, "Mbau is far away. Let us stay here."

Then the old man asked, "Is your land near, lady, or not?"

She answered, "No, Lakemba is far away to the east." So they hoisted sail again to proceed, but the men of Mbutoni remained behind in Koro. The Levukans alone went and came to Somosomo in Taveuni.

They said, "Let us stay here that we may make pots here."

But the old man said, "Let us go to Lauthala."

"Well this is a mad old man," they said, "who bids us go on afar to Lauthala." They came to Lauthala and the old man went up the hill. As he stood there he saw Naitaumbe and saw Yathata. He said again, "Let us go and see the island that appears yonder." They sailed and came to Naitaumbe; then they sailed straight to Kanathea. The old man went to lift the curtain of the place where the lady lay and asked, "Is that your land yonder?"

The lady said, "No, Tui Lakemba's land is Thithia."

"Where is Thithia?" he asked.

"It lies beyond on the other side," she said. Thithia came in sight.

The old man went to her and said, "There is land in sight."

"That is the beginning of my land," she said, "that is Thithia."

The old man said, "Straight to that land to anchor there." They anchored and the crews went ashore; there were only two left on board, the old man and the lady. The old man went to uncover the lady.

"Yes," she said, "this is the land of the High Chief (*sau*) of Lakemba."

"Get up," said he, "and dress." She put on her skirt and they both landed and went straight to the house of the chief of that village. The wife of the chief of that village asked, "This lady is like the lady Ndi Sinatelangi?"

The old man said, "Yes, it is she." The women wept and mourned over her (*saupututaka*). The crews were in the village; they said, "Ho! some one has died."

But the villagers said, "No, the lady you have brought is being wept for."

"No, we have not come with any lady," they answered.

The villagers said, "Nay, the lady you have brought is the lady that was missing in Lakemba."

"Well, he is a secretive old man," said the Levukans.

Then the people bestirred themselves and prepared a change of clothes, consisting of a sheet of painted bark cloth a hundred fathoms long, and of coir string. Then they built a house and put the stuff inside to wait for the Levukans on their way back. The Levukans sailed on to Naiau; they prepared a change of clothes in Naiau and the stuff was shut up in a house. When they hoisted sail in Naiau the canoe on board which was Sinatelangi's went first. Now in their travels if a canoe anchored first in any island the men who manned it became the navigators (*ndau*) of that island. The canoe which had Sinatelangi on board anchored first in Lakemba, so the owners of the canoe are called Ndau ni Lakemba to the present day. They anchored in Navutoka. They resolved to go up to Kendekende. They blackened their faces and put on turbans. Now in Lakemba only the Sau could wear a turban by day, but common people[mb] were allowed to wear a turban by night. As they were going up to Kendekende they passed some Lakembans who were tilling a taro field. "Who are these," they said, "that come with turbans on. Where are you gentlemen from?"

539

"From Mbau," they said.

"Where is Mbau?" said the Lakembans. They went up to Kendekende together. The father and mother of the young lady had been fasting all the time for sorrow. The Levukans said, "We have brought Sinatelangi," and the people of Kendekende rejoiced. This was reported to the Chief, and he looked up, and ate because his child was living. The people spread out a big sheet of painted cloth from the beach to Kendekende to be the path of Sinatelangi, that her feet should not touch the ground. The whole of Lakemba made a feast. "It is well," said Tui Lakemba, "Sinatelangi has been recovered; Sinatelangi is your wife, Levukans."

But the old man of Levuka said, "No she is not our wife, but she is our daughter. It is well if she marries that she should marry inside Lakemba."

"Yes, that is well." Then they sailed back to Mbau. They went to take on board the stuff in Naiau, went to take on board the stuff in Thithia. Then they sailed straight to Mbau; they brought this stuff as their fine. When they had paid their fine to Mbau they returned to Lakemba. They built their village in Navutoka and set up a temple called Navatanitawake after the temple in Mbau.

They heard there were islands to the windward and they went to Komo, Namuka, Fulanga, Ongea, and sailed right on to Vatoa, the furthest land known, for Ono was not then known. There they practiced a dance.

There was a hollow *evuevu* tree in which dwelt two spirits (*tevoro*,) the Matangi Women. The Levukans were practising their dance, and practising and practising. The two spirits peeped out to see. Every time they peeped out from the tree the dance went wrong, and they could not remember. Then the dancers said, "Sing, raise the song; tomorrow we shall go to Lakemba." They sang and the spirits peeped out, and it went wrong.

One old man was sitting at the door of their lodging plaiting coir string. As the shadow of the spirits came forth he saw them. When the old man saw them he got a rope and made it into a noose, and placed it beside the hollow bole, and said, "Go on, raise the song. If I say 'pull,' pull quickly." They raised the song, and the spirits peeped out. The old man said, "Pull," they pulled and noosed the spirits. The pair were bound fast. "Bring them and slay them," said the old man, "they made the dance go wrong."

The spirits entreated them, "Let us live." The Levukans said they would be spared if they became gods (*kalou*) of navigation to show them hidden lands. The spirits said they would ransom (*soro*) themselves by revealing Ono; so they were spared.

[mb] Unfortunately these words are translated in my notes. It is a good illustration of the importance of taking down in the vernacular: at that time I thought that *vanua*, land, simply meant the common people, and so translated it; if the original is here *vanua* it would be of great importance that the chief wears a turban by day, and the Tumbou side by night.

They lay bound in the canoe with their feet towards the bow and their heads towards the stern. So they sailed towards Ono, sailed towards Ono. Ono used to lie close to Vatoa, but as they drew near to Ono the women kicked at the land and it moved further off and disappeared. A second time they kicked at the land and it removed further. The old man who had caught them in Vatoa noticed this and said, "We shall not get to Ono unless they are turned round. Turn them round towards the stern." They were turned round and the canoe came to Ono. They anchored in Ono and danced there in the village of Matokana: it was a spear dance (*wesi*); the leader had a cock's feather in his hair. As they danced, they dug a tunnel which ended underneath the Green. The singers went to sing in the middle of the Green, while the dancers went underground and came out in the midst of the Green. Then the people of Ono said, "Heigh! the spirits have come forth from underground." Some of the Onoans fled but some stayed.

The Levukans then asked, "Is there another land?"

The two spirits said, "Tuvana above and Tuvana below." So they sailed to Tuvana and landed in Tuvana. The elders went ashore and only the children remained on board. The spirits then said, "Release us that we may teach you a dance."

Some of the children who were mature (*vakayalo*) said "No, do not release them." But the spirits entreated and were released. They climbed up the mast and began to sing at the masthead the following song:

Tuvana i tholo, Tuvana i ra,	Tuvana above, Tuvana below;
Ko Nasali Ka thoka mbamba,	Nasali lies across;
Ko Mburotu ru vuni tu nga.	Mburotu they are hiding.
Tinamu, tamamu.	Your father, your mother.

Then they stamped and the ship sank, the children perished, and the spirits flew away. To this day the children keep crying at the place where the canoe sank; their souls (*yalondra*) cry. They are heard on a calm day. To this day when a Levuka child is impudent they say, "It is he who set free the goddesses." For the children of Levuka are impudent and it is no use talking to them. The rest of the Levukans returned to Lakemba where they live to the present day.

Some say Sinatelangi married into Levuka. The Levukans certainly exercised rights which resemble those of a sister's son.

The following account is given concerning the ancestors of the nobility:

Niumataiwalu, the ancestor of the present nobility, fell in love with Tarau, a captive girl in Totoya, so the chief of Totoya said, "Very well, climb a red coconut palm to wash away her Komoan nationality that she may become a Totoyan." So they brought a red coconut and washed her with the milk that she might be reckoned as the chief of Totoya's daughter. Then Niu married her.

Niumataiwalu was murdered in Ono at the instigation of the chief of Mbau who sent a whale's tooth made of stone to get the deed done. It was a cubit long and more precious than a real tooth. The whale's tooth and the club were presented to the Governor at the Great Council in 1880. As Niu was clubbed on the head his grandson was named The-broken-head, but as it is tapu to speak of the head of a nobleman, they altered it to The-forbidden-name.

When his eldest son was murdered his body was dragged to Navutoka and left there overnight. Next morning it was found covered with crabs of a kind called *lairo tui*. Since then no one in Katumbalevu is allowed to eat that kind. No spirit is embodied in it, but it is respected because it lay on Uluilakemba's body. Sharks are also tapu because they may have drunk his blood, but this tapu is not observed. There is a spring on that beach where it is tapu to bathe. Crafts passing the rock where he stood used to salute, "O, oa," and the women going by while fishing sang

539

"Ninggo." A woman of Naiau touched it as she swam past, and was eaten by a shark, for it was forbidden to touch it.

Niumataiwalu's son Rasolo lived sometime with the rest of the family in exile in Naiau, by a *rewa* tree, which is still pointed to at the present day. Hence they took the tribal name of Navuanirewa, the *rewa* fruit. Hence also such personal names as Vunirewa, Senirewa, Landuvunirewa. A spirit told them, "Instal a chief and call him Lord of Naiau." He was chosen in this way.

The nobles said, "It is well we should go and jump off at the place where stands the banyan tree. If one of us takes up the challenge he shall be our chief." Rasolo jumped and landed unhurt on a branch below. They let down a rope and hauled him up. Thus was Rasolo the first Lord of Naiau in Lakemba.

After Rasolo's death Uluilakemba's son Ndranivia snatched the chieftainship. He went to get the state basket (*katonitu*) in which the treasure (*iyau*) of the land was kept and entered Great House.

After the death of Rasolo the three sons of Rasolo discussed who should be High Chief. The third said to the second, "Be you High Chief, Soroanggali, since your mother is a woman of Lakemba; we are strangers here" [their mothers came from outside Lakemba].

But Soroanggali said, "No, I have plenty of kinsfolk here, and so am equal to the work. But if I am High Chief, you who have no kinsfolk here, cannot tell the people to do this or that, or they will say to you, 'You have no kinsfolk here.' But if you are High Chief and want anything I shall tell the people to do it." So the eldest of the three was made High Chief.

In the course of the civil wars once before an attack the nobles ate some fermented food, but did not give any to the people of Mothe as provisions of war. When hard pressed the nobles said to the men of Mothe, "Come here."

But the men of Mothe said, "Go on making fermented food with the livers of the Lakembans"; and would not fight.

The nobles moved from Tarukua to Mambula. The reason is as follows:

All the nobles were assembled once in Tarukua. They were building a house and about to set up a post. They waited for the chief of Mambula, Koli by name. They made some kava. As he did not come they decided to set up the post without him; so they poured kava at the foot of the post and prayed that Koli might die, for Koli was a man of valor, and slew men, and hung them up as a sign his coconuts were tapu. Koli then arrived bearing his club; he went to a rocky point and sat down with his club in his lap. He did not speak to them: some disease seized him and he went back to Mambula. Ratumaimbulu, a spirit (*tevoro*) was seated by the roadside, turning his back. As Koli went past, he jumped upon the spirit and, lifting his club, prepared to strike. Ratumaimbulu cried, "Let me live." Then Koli made a condition, "Let the pole on which the feast is carried be turned towards you and me," that is to say, "Let the nobles go to Mambula, leaving Tarukua." That is why the nobles moved to Tarukua. Koli's belly swelled up and by the time he reached Mambula the swelling extended to his neck and he died.

Once there was a great chief in Vatuvara called Tui Lau who had a house on the top of the hill. In the southeasterly monsoon he opened the south door to look out for canoes, and in the northwest season the north door.

KAMBARA ISLAND

The goddess of Nanggara was called Tapaso. If anyone fell ill and was taken to different gods in the hope of a cure she would say in Fijian with a Tongan accent, "*A tafa ka veikauyaki tu? Kau mai kiei me lili me su molu*" (Why is he carried about; bring him here to be cooked till he is tender). A dog is the god of Nanggara.

There is a god called Tui Vakano. Kambara and Thekena are kinsfolk.

Ra Matao was an ancestor (*vu*) in Kambara, but only a man. He was a clever man. When he died four men carried him to Nuku or Onemato to bury him there, 539 but he spoke from the bier and said, "I am going to be buried in the Great Cave." When they arrived at the Great Cave they wanted to bury him on this side, but he said, "Carry me as far as Wainiyambia." So they took him there and buried him.

Oloi is the *tauvu* of Kambara. Oloi is not far from Suva. If the Kambarans go to Suva they go and take food in Oloi; the part of the Oloi people is to abuse them. The ancestor (*vu*) of Kambara, Mberewalaki by name, went down to Oloi to beg for earth to bring to Kambara. The stick he used to carry the baskets with was a *vesi* tree which he wanted to plant in Kambara so that it might grow there. He made one journey and went back for more. On his return the people were baking the earth which he had brought the first time. He saw the smoke from the reef. He was very angry at this and in his anger hurled his burden anyhow at the land so that the earth was heaped up at one place, so they called the place Toka. Taro and horse taro grow there. That is why Oloi and Kambara are *tauvu*.

Another version says the cock crowed while he was out by the reef so he threw away the earth; still another that he pulled up the top of Oloi and planted it in Kambara.

523 The hill in Kambara where lies the earth brought by Mberewalaki is called Ndelaioloi. It is the only planting ground in Kambara. When the people of Kambara dig in order to plant, the water in Oloi is troubled, seeing which the people of Oloi say, "Kambara is a land of low fellows, of cannibal's meat."

ONO ISLAND

Tuiliku is said to have been a man but it is supposed he was a spirit.
534 This was in the days when Matokana was chief in Ono.

Tui Ono sailed to Tuvana, and the women and Tuiliku went there. After staying in Tuvana they prepared to return to Ono. Tui Ono told the women to stay in Tuvana. Tuiliku hearing this ran away to the bush. When the chief of Matokana knew that Tuiliku had run away he took the women on board and went home. Tuiliku remained alone. Night came, and as he was lying down to sleep spirits came and rolled him in the mud and threw him up in the air. At daybreak the spirits went home; at sunset they came again. Tuiliku wondered what he should do, so he thought of burying himself in the sand. When he had done so the spirits took each a stick and prodded the sand, and prodded Tuiliku; they took him to the sea and ducked him and threw him about till daylight. Tuiliku bethought him what he should do to save his life. When night came he thought of a device to hide: he climbed a coconut palm. The spirits came and looked for him in the earth, in the mud, then in the trees, and found him, and brought him down. They rolled him again till daylight and then went back to the bush. Tuiliku again pondered on some means of safety when Lingandua, also called Tutumatua, came along and said to Tuiliku, "What are you doing?"

Tuiliku said, "Sir, I am a dead man; the spirits torment me. Where are you going?"

Lingandua said, "I am going to Mburotu; why do you ask?"

Tuiliku said, "What if we went together?"

"If you can, let us go," said Lingandua.

"I shall try," said Tuiliku, "I can't stay in Tuvana." They both set out for Mburotu.

They followed a path to a reef which is still to be seen. Lingandua said, "Let us watch the breakers: three will come, one will be black, one white; when the red one comes let us jump into it." They jumped into the red breaker and found themselves inside a house in Mburotu. That house was full of women taken there by Lingandua.

539 Lingandua had told Tuiliku to get three *kura* fruits in Tuvana; he now said, "We shall be here three nights: the first day eat one *kura* fruit, the second eat another, and on the third day eat the third. Eat no Mburotu food, lest you die." At the end of three nights Lingandua told him they should go back to Tuvana. He took one coir coconut, one dwarf coconut, one red *Dracaena*, one king coconut, one red *sovisovi* plant: all these plants are now found in Tuvana. When they arrived in Tuvana the coconuts they planted there remained. Lingandua said, "I am going; go you to Ono. Don't go and tell of our journey; the day you tell you will find yourself in Mburotu." After a long time Tuiliku thought he would tell. He told his household to bring barkcloth and mats and had them spread out. He then told them his journey to Mburotu. When the story was ended he died. So there were coconuts in Tuvana and from there they were brought to Ono.

The story of Tuiliku will be found in the Native Gazette (11, p. 164, 1894; p. 151, 1909).

NAIAU ISLAND

538 539 Many stories are told about the people of Naiau showing them to be simpletons (*uthe*). Foolishness seizes them at low tide. They fished in the woods; drove lizards, snakes, cockroaches into a cave which they then closed; they took spears, removed the stone, and speared the animals as they appeared: they saw water at the foot of a cliff and did not know what it was, so the men went to adorn themselves and came forward to leap. The people sang:

Ra tukutuku ndonga (bis);	They are making dye;
Ra ndrendre koto (bis);	They laugh as they lie;
Nda rika, nda rika.	Let us jump, let us jump.

539 Then one of the men jumped over the edge of the cliff and fell lying on his back, and exposing his teeth as he died; those above thought he was laughing. His whole body was red with blood which they took for dye. They did not know death; their minds were gone astray.

The descendants of Langone were granted by Taliai Tupou the privilege of eating turtle, because Langone warned Taliai that Ndranivia and his people were plotting to murder him. Langone was a descendant of Nggomo, who went to stay in Naiau. There was in Narothivo a chief called Tui Naiau; Nggomo wanted to transfer the title to Ndevo, but before he could do so he was killed. He had a wife in Lakemba of the Tumbou clan, who bore a son, Ndelailoa. The son conquered Naiau.

At Liku was a god called Sambasamba or Mami, a shark. His dwelling was in the shark cave on a promontory. Wanting to go sightseeing in Mbau, he embarked in the shape of a man. The Levuka people took him on board. They arrived in Mbau. The fishermen of Vutia near Rewa came to Mbau. He wanted to go with them to Rewa. He spent the night on shore; after dinner he said, "I want two boys to take me to the place where lives Tui Ndreketi's fisherman." Tui Ndreketi's fisherman was a big *ndambea* fish. "Why do you wish to go," they asked.

"Sightseeing," he said.

So two boys rowed him, one at the bow and one at the stern; Sambasamba sat in the middle. They rowed him to the place where the *ndambea* lived. Sambasamba put one leg into the water and it changed into a fin, then the other changed into a fin. He gave the boys some bark cloth called *tongo* as a return for their work. By that time his body had turned into a shark's up to the neck. He said, "You watch; when I fight the *ndambea*, if you see black blood it is the Westerner's blood; if it is red blood

539 it is the Lauan's." He dived into the cave of Ratu's fisherman. They fought; the *ndambea* was killed and black blood came up.

They said, "Ratu's fiserman is dead." Sambasamba missed his way coming back, and it is not known where he went. There is now a *ndambea* belonging to Tui Ndreketi, the child of the one that was killed.

A woman of Naiau was plaiting mats in the middle of the day; she put behind her ear the shell with which she slit the leaves. While she was working the tide went down; she wanted to eat shellfish so she went down to the sea. She found a *vuroi*, but she had nothing to eat with it. She was standing then with water up to her thighs. "I wish a *mami* were brought to eat with it," she said. A *mami* is a kind of banana. Now there was a god in Naiau called Mami, an ancestor god who was a shark. When Mami heard, he was angry, and came and swallowed her up. The old woman remained alive without a wound in the shark's inside. She remembered the shell she had stuck behind her ear, and with it cut the throat of the shark. In pain he swam and entered the Rewa river and got stranded in Notho. A woman came down, it may be to draw water, and saw the shark and went and told the village to take the shark and eat it. When they came to cut it up the woman spoke, so they cut the body where the human body ended, and brought out the woman. The woman and the shark were taken to the village and the shark was eaten.

The Lord of Notho married the woman and she bore him a child named Vu. He was a small boy that would not grow. The children were playing together; it was his habit to make them cry; he played the bully and hit them; there was not a big boy he did not overcome. They all however outgrew him; several generations succeeded each other and still it was his part to torment them. When he made a child cry they abused him saying, "You are not a native of this place; you are the son of a woman from the body of a shark." These words vexed Vu and he asked his mother.

She replied, "It is true, a shark ate me." The boy went and importuned the Lord of Notho with tears to build him a canoe, a canoe for the high seas. He then prepared his journey towards his mother's land. He drew water and kept it in a leaf of horse-taro, and tied it to the boom-attachment sticks. He then hoisted sail and set out alone, holding the sheet of the sail. He could not drink his water for when he tried to drink he stepped on the outrigger and the boom was submerged, so he had to withdraw. After one night he came and made land in Naiau. The stretch of beach where he made land was called Tuvukei. His boat was beach. In anger he threw on the beach the water that hung on the outrigger; that water still exists and is used for bathing and drinking.

The women came down to fish. They took him to the village, and he told them who he was and who was his mother, and so they knew this woman was still living. Then he told them how she had become the wife of Tui Notho. Great was their joy over him, and they prepared stuff and shipped it to Tui Notho. This is the reason why Notho and Naiau are *tauvu*. The Naiau people are indeed lords in Notho. If there is fermented food and a Naiau man is present no Notho man may touch it. It is the same if Notho people come to Naiau.

Another version calls the boy Vuvu and represents him as shipwrecked on Thithia. He there cut himself a mangrove branch and used it to swim to Naiau. He landed in Lawaki and therefore there are mangroves there to the present day. He carried his water-bottle about and hung it on a tree between Narothivo and Salia in Tuvukei.

The Notho people say the woman was taken to the temple in Notho and was then married to the chief. When Vuvu was born she became known as Tinaivuvu. Vuvu in sailing to Naiau tied his water-bottle in a leaf of horse-taro on the sheet of the sail above the outrigger. He several times tried to drink but could not. Since then the Notho people never drink water at sea, or the sheet would break. This tapu held good till they became Christians. Of old they did not sail further than Kandavu and Nandronga. Vuvu poured out his water in Naiau: that is why there is plenty of horse-taro there.

VANUA VATU

There are many people in Vanua Vatu who trace their descent to Naiau. The following story is told:

> The gods (*tevoro*) took counsel together to go and draw water for themselves; but the ancestor (*tupua*) of Naiau remained idle in this undertaking, and did not go to draw water. The ancestor of Vanua Vatu filled two bottles and hung them on a tree and went to dig a ditch for the water to stand in. As he was digging, the Naiau man went past. The Naiau man came and called, "Ah eh! let me have some water;" but the ancestor of Vanua Vatu did not hear as he was deaf, but bent over his digging. The Naiau man called again, "Eh! Let me have just a bottle." But again the man of Vanua Vatu did not hear. The Naiau man saw the ancestor of Vanua Vatu bending over his work, so he took both bottles and flew to Naiau. When the man of Vanua Vatu had finished digging and came to take the bottles to pour them out they were missing. He looked toward Naiau, and the ancestor of Naiau in his flight was halfway between Vanua Vatu and Naiau. He picked up a stone, and threw it and struck the bottles so that they broke, and some of the water dripped as far as Naiau. This is the reason why at the present day there are some small springs in Naiau. As for the stone it broke in two, and one half is in Naiau.

ONEATA ISLAND

> In Maua is a cave called the Mosquito Cave, where lies a heap of conch shells. Of old, if a party of visitors came whose presence was not desired because food was short or for some other reason, the young men were sent to the cave to swing these conches; and as they swung them they said, "Let the mosquitoes come and bite the strangers." The visitors got bitten so that they fled.
>
> Wakulikuli used the trees of Oneata to wipe himself after stool; for which reason all the trees in Oneata are crooked.
>
> To the east of Oneata is an island called Loa and the top of a hill called Kendekende, which was formerly part of Oneata; but the god (*tupua*) of Oneata pulled them up to remove them. He was about to carry them away when the god of Mothe crowed like a cock; the god of Oneata thought day was dawning and dropped them. The spirit (*tevoro*) of Mothe saw what was going on, and wanted to stop it as he did not want Oneata to become big. Spirits do not work in the daytime. The places where the island and the hill top were pulled up are called Aithavuthavui Loa, and Aithavuthavui Kendekende (The-rooting-up-of-Loa; The-rooting-up-of-Kendekende).
>
> Formerly there were no *lairo* crabs in Oneata. Those they now have come from Wainikeli in Tavenui. The people of Wainikeli waved them over to Oneata, and the women caught the crabs.

At one time it was tapu to drag a log along the beach across the frontier between Tarukua and Wathiwathi, for to do so would result in a fight.

The following legend is told about the island of Aiwa which formerly belonged to Tarukua.

TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka*, or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[illegible]

WAITAMBU

776
539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

---

[illegible] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaleta a tevoro*).

that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the 776 world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were 539 used for necklaces, the *vono,* the *uthi,* and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain.

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua,* or ancestor goddess, met the *vu,* or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala. 539

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall. 782

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of lands-people in Levukaindaku are the gods (*vu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba
Viti-i-Lema OQ9

MOALA, TOTOYA, AND MATUKU ISLANDS

GENERAL RELATIONS

V L 648

Moala, Totoya, and Matuku constituted a group of islands which "stood by itself"; they were subject to neither Mbau nor Lakemba. They formerly "went to" Mbau, but "were not turned very much" that way; and went only as relatives, not as subjects. However, an article in the Native Gazette (11, Feb., p. 13, 1891) represents Mbau as making requisitions (*lala*) in Moala, and a writer in the same journal (op. cit. [illegible] p. 47, 1897) traces the origin of one whole group of Fijian chiefs to Moala. He says: V 173

> I will also relate to you a Fijian tradition concerning the origin of some of the great chiefs of Fiji. The name of that family is Ndelaindaku. The various states where they are found and their ranks are as follows: In Mbau the Vunivalu is a scion from Ndelaindaku, in Thakaundrove the Tui Thakau, in Rewa the Roko Tui Ndreketi, in Mbua the Tui Mbua, in Mathuata the Tui Mathuata, in Lakemba the Roko Sau, in Nakelo the Tui Nakelo, in Namata the Roko Tui Namata, in Namara the Roko Tui Veikau, in Nasavusavu the Tui Nasavusavu, in Natewa the Vunivalu, in Wainikeli Roko Tuei, in Namuka (Mathuata) the Time, in Mualevu the Tui Mavana, in Nasangalau the Tui Nasangalau.
>
> There are other scions of Ndelaindaku in the various lands of Fiji that are by descent small nobility, and there are also many who are by descent people of the land (*kawa lewe ni vanua*). Now this noble family is said to originate entirely from Moala; that is why those lands are still related to Moala. The people of Moala are wont to carry out in honor of those great noble lands "the opening of the path," "the setting foot on land," the "visiting" at the various installments of chiefs. Moala people have only just returned from Mbau after visiting the Roko Tui Tailevu [i. e., the Vunivalu of Mbau].

This writer distinguishes another noble line, called the Ratu, who originate from Nakauvandra; unfortunately his account is confused with modern theories about Malaya and Melanesians, but he states (11, p. 78, 1897) that the Ndelaindaku clan is in Moala.

Totoya is the land of origin (*vanua vu*) of the nobles of Moala: they are called Kai Lomanikoro, or "Men of the middle of the town." Their line split and spread first to Moala, whence come the great nobles of Naroi, then to Matuku. The writer whom I have quoted says that Ravuvu or Ravouvou of Mburotu, son of Tui Mburotu, was shipwrecked in Totoya. After staying some time he went on to Moala where he married Raluve of Moala. One of the party went to build Nayavutoka in Lakemba to be his village.

Another version is that Ndaunisai, the youngest of the brothers, came from Nakauvandra, settled in Kambara, but owing to the lack of land they sailed in two canoes, one to Keteithake in Moala, the other to Keteira in Totoya. In Keteira they set up a big mound (*yavu*) called Kau Kambara.

648 Moala and Matuku did not carry tribute to Totoya which is the leading state, being somewhat nobler, but none of the three is subject to one another. The three lands hold festivals as relatives. In feasts, Totoya is called first, then Moala, then Matuku.

262 The Lord of Totoya had four children, all girls. When they grew up he decided each should be married into a different village of Totoya; the eldest into Tovu, one into Ketei, one into Undu, one into Ndravuwalu; according to another informant the eldest went to Ketei. Each of these villages has its turtle-oven, whereas in most states only one village can eat turtle; but Tui Totoya gave them the bamboo for cutting up turtle. In Moala the subjection is severe: no turtle is eaten outside Yaroi. In Matuku all three districts ate turtle until the Tongans forbade it except in Yaroi.

173 One informant reckons that the lands that once belonged to the Moala group were Thithia, Mango, Naiau, Vanuavatu, Komo, Kambara, Namuka, Fulanga, as opposed to the Viti group comprising Taveuni, Naitaumba, Yathata, Kanathea, Lomaloma (Vanua Mbalavu), Tuvutha, Lakemba, Oneata.

643 The title of Tui Moala was once borne by the chief of Tovu, who was installed by the people of Moala, the people of Totoya preparing presents for them. The same chief was also installed as Tui Matuku. The title of Sau is also applied to him. The chief of Moala was formerly known as Vaka, a title given to the chief who is installed next to the High Chief. He rules the land. When Tui Moala went to Moala, a big feast was prepared, and tribute brought; likewise when the Vaka went to Totoya. When the visitors left they were forbidden to eat at sea the food left over from the feast; so they left it behind.

MOALA

103 The name of Moala is often Fijianized as Muala. The story is that Ravouvou ni Mburotu or the chief of Kambara being asked which way they would steer said, "*Ki mua la*" (forward). The Moala people are known for their loud ways.

361 Yaroi, the chief village of Moala, was formerly called Navuthunimasi.
764 In this village is the grave of the late Roko Tui Moala, consisting of two
563 terraces in tiers with four conches laid upon it. A piece of white cloth, stretched above it, was inscribed with the word "Sau Tambu." When I saw it the weeds had been cleared from around it, in anticipation of the hundredth night feast. A large part of Yaroi is a Tongan quarter called Nambuthi. Some of the Tongans went to Kandavu and Rewa, where they are known as Na Vusa Namu.

614 There are in Moala descendants of the Lasakau tribe of Mbau. The clans are divided thus:

614 a, (1) Turangaulu; (2) Nandrungulangi, who go with Turangaulu, one clan divided into two, which holds the title of Vakavanua (p. 54); (3) Naivikathambe, the heralds; (4) Keteithake, a division of the nobles that has been joined with the gentlemen of Nasau.

b, The owners of the land, also called "they of Nasau," after the hill of Nasau: (1) Turangambete who lead Nasau. Holding the title of Roko Tui Nasau, they lead the *mbati* or edge; and send them word to destroy a village; (2) Naivingga, who are like the Vakavanua of Roko Tui Nasau. If the Tui Nasau wants anything, the land clan (*matanggali vanua*) is told; this is called *i tene* (nursing); Turangambete and Naivingga together make up Mboi; (3) Sereu; (4) Nandumba, servants of the Roko Tui Nasau.

The *mbati* are Sereu, Nandumba, etc., the owners of the land. Nakoroithake is the name of the village of the owners of the land because in the old village of Navuthunimasi the village of the nobles was on the beach, and the upper part was occupied by the land.

133 The land of Moala is divided by a bay into two parts: Tailailai and Moalalevu; Tailailai is Keteithake; Moalalevu are the owners of the land.

602 Moala and Thakaundrove are *tauvu* on account of Mainatavasara whose name is also Kumboavanua. Moala and Haatungua in Tonga are also
[524] *tauvu*. The people of Tateiso (the Fijian for Haateo) in Tonga formerly had a kite made of black bark cloth with a tail of coir string. When the wind was good they left it aloft overnight. One night when it was up, a gale carried it away to Moala. Hence the two places are *tauvu* and related. Tongans have no *tauvu* except in Fiji. The village of Maloku has as *tauvu* Levuka in Ovalau and Waikama in Totoya.

TOTOYA

621 The village of Ketei in Totoya is divided into two parts, Sauturanga
614 and Manukuira.

Manukuira comprises three clans known as the land clans (*matanggali vanua*). The leading clan, Uluvatu, gathers all the land clans to carry feasts to the Sauturanga; it was originally in Sauturanga but went over to Manukuira to rule them. Wakaia are *mbati;* the third is Njingonjingo.

There are two clans eligible for chieftainship: Matanikorotu and Tukosokoso; their sides of the oven are Nggarani, who are bastards, and Manukuithake, who are heralds. Waisunindawa is an edge of the oven which is joined with the nobles.

The title of the chief of Ketei is Ramalo.

602 Ketei is *tauvu* of Tungua in Tonga, but this has extended to the whole of the Moala Islands. One version is that a daughter of Ndaunisai married into Tungua, where she had descendants. This is a great *tauvu* of Ketei. It is on account of the sister's son (*vasu*) that they have common gods.

776
602 In the island of Vanua Vatu, which belongs to Totoya, was a god called Ravuravu to whom offerings of firewood were made in olden times. The *tauvu* of Vanua Vatu are Thakaundrove and Mbengga and Nairai—the lands which Ravuravu used.

MATUKU

773 It is related that Matuku formerly lay where now lies the reef of Navatu, but the gods of Lomanikoro (Totoya) objected to the Matuku people living in the center as they were loud in their ways and made a noise, so the gods (*tevoro*) moved them to the back of the land where Matuku now is. All the names of the various parts of the Matuku reef are also applied to the Navatu reef (between Totoya and Vanua Vatu).

The following information was given me:

[643]
631 There is no one chief in Matuku, the office is split up; hence the name of the Nggalikarua boat is Nduimbana (Several Branches). Matuku is divided into two tribes:

(1) The Vusa Vakavanua or Land tribe, known also as Nggalikatolu (Three Tribes), occupy the villages of Yaroi, Nggalikarua, and Natokalau.

(2) The Matuku have Levukaindaku as the chief village, but occupy also Ndaku, Raviravi, and Lomati.

The land tribe (Nggalivakavanua) are so called because they are the nobles who own the land. They were brought together by Yaroi, a strong village. It is true the Ramasi of Nggalikarua is independent, and yet in a sense he is not. The village is called Nggalikarua because its people were attached to both sides: some fought for Levukaidaku and some for Yaroi according to the land from which their mothers came. The people of Yaroi now live in Murimuri.

Yaroi consists of two parts, the nobles together with the people who are their land (*eratou vanua kina*), that is, the heralds; and Nakai or the Land. The clans of Yaroi are: (1) Four [*sic*] noble clans, some of which are extinct: Naseisei, Navutoka, Wanggatalatha, Vatutuva, Salialevu; (2) Vunikura or Matanivanua, heralds, and Murimuri which are in Yaroi what Katumbalevu and Valelailai are in Tumbou; (3) Vanua, the land which is subdivided into (a) Nakai consisting of Naivalivali to which belong the chiefs of Nakai, Nailou, Vunikura, Mbete; (b) Yawa consisting of Naivalivali who are also noble, Navura, Tiliva, Navalivali-i-sau. The village of Natokalau belongs to Land, and Nakai are chiefs there.

The nobles are divided into four groups in order that feasts may be large, but they are all descended from Rakuita whose mother was of Nasangalau. If a Tui Yaroi from the Naseisei clan dies, a nobleman of Navutoka is installed. The other houses are not installed.

A boy called Roko Savou was a great person in Matuku, and even Tui Yaroi used to *tama* to him because he was descended from Roko Tambete; yet Tambete did not become Tui Yaroi because he was in the female line.

Murimuri are the priests of Ravasu, the great god of Yaroi.

Nakai are *mbati* and nobles: they do not plant; they are mighty men, and only eat from the nobleman's fields. In war they are strong men and lead the companies. The clan of Yawa brings tribute to the chief, but not Nakai.

The following story tells how the Nakai became noble:

539 A man of Yaroi went up the hill to shoot bats. His arrow fell in Ngesia. He found the arrow stuck in a grave and when he pulled it out a spirit arose with the

head of a snake and the body of a sea-snake. This snake was the Cloth of the Land (*masi ni vanua*). "Let us go," said the spirit.

"Let us go this way, "said the man, and because he was afraid he went to Nggalikarua. As he approached Yaroi he said, "Wait here; I shall go and tell the village." This man belonged to Yawa. He forgot all about it. The place where the snake waited is called the Track of the Cloth. There were several gulleys there: he [the snake] turned aside from that leading to Yawa and followed that called Mbutoiyaroi which leads to Nakai. It followed it down and lay down; wherever it lay down is a place of spirits. It went on and lay in a plain called Nathovandra. The ancients of Nakai found it; hence Nakai are noble in a way: if there are two turtles one is for the nobles, one for Nakai; Yawa and Natokalau eat the one for Nakai. At the installation of a chief, Yawa tie on the cloth; Nakai keep guard on the house where the kava is held to bar the way.

There is a longer version, of which the substance is this:

The Lords (*turanga*) of Matuku used to live in Levukaindaku in Matuku proper. A landsman shot the cock which was the awakener of Roko Ratu. The cock flew some thirteen miles to Ratu's village. The landsman followed it. Roko Ratu asked him into the house. The landsman asked for a halyard, that lay there; this halyard was a snake, a spirit. Roko Ratu gave it to him, telling him it was the ancestor god of the nobles of Matuku, and tied a piece of bark cloth round it saying, "See the cloth of chieftainship; if you take the snake and install a chief, tie the cloth on his arm." The landsman left the snake at the back of his village and forgot all about it. A young nobleman came that way and the snake said to him, "A fool, a bushman brought me here. Had he taken me into the village he would have been chief. Now take me to your side of the village." The youth's people made a feast and kava. The nobles of the center of the village decided to have a chief (*tui*). They elected him and tied the scarf on the arm of Tui Yaroi. Hence the custom of tying a cloth on Tui Yaroi's arm and leaving it four nights. At the end of the four nights the scarf was slipped off the arm, the knot pulled tight, and it was kept in a box as "the cloth of the land." When the time of death had arrived the cloth was buried with the chief. After the four nights he went to bathe in a pool and a village was smitten to provide his bathing feast.

The chief of Nakai is called Vaka ni Matuku. It is his duty to speak in the land. If the village makes a feast, the people of the land place it before him and he directs it; the herald handles it. Vaka is a new title. In heathen days the title was Tumbunimalungu or "grandfather of the club" because if a man killed a man he was confined to a house (*tamburaki*) for four nights; and it was Tumbunimalungu's duty to anoint him with oil (p. 144). The people prepared food. After four days they bathed, and they received such names from Tumbunimalungu as Dog, and Shark, etc.

Tui Ndreketi formerly was the great god of Yaroi and was in Natikorua. He was set aside because a chief feigned sickness and the priest of Tui Ndreketi said, "This is the penalty for the pig at such and such a place." But the priest of Ravasu said, "He is feigning."

Ravasu is the god of the nobles but belongs to the clan of the priests, Vunikura. He is a great god, not ancestor god, but a foreign god from Kandavu. His incarnation is the *latuitui*, a hawk; it flies fast as they are lying in ambush, and they know they will win. All the places at which he is worshipped are *tauvu*: Mbuliya and Ndravuni in Kandavu, Tumbuninggio in Viti Levu, Tunuloa in Vanua Levu, Waitonga in Nairai, Undu in Totoya. He is called Ravasu in Ndravuni, but in the other places he is named differently.

Naserela was the temple of the *mbati* or edge tribe; the god was Nakorosinga or Nangonembalavu, a strong youth. The priest might not eat eels or long fishes

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau
Viti-i-Lau 029

539 because of Nangonembalavu. He hated people getting killed; his priests were never killed; hence Yaroi was victorious, if one were killed Yaroi would perish.

The temple of the Yawa clan was Nasauvangone: Nggalonggalo of Natokalau; Natikorua of Keteitiliva; Navomivalu of the heralds.

The god of Natokalau was Salevuwangga, so called because he did not wish any one to perish at sea. He is a fairly young boy. If the people of Yaroi defeated another village some man of Yaroi would be killed to "turn the head." He dislikes the smell of blood. He is a god of seafaring; if a man was shipwrecked he would change into a shark and convey him home on his back. He was in use in Undu and in Tumuloa. The other god of Natokalau, Wanggairakura, is a god of war; his incarnation is a hawk.

In heathen days the people worshipped souls (*yalo*). Nasau was a temple of the soul of a deceased nobleman, just a human spirit (*kalou tamata nga*). Each man had his father as spirit. If a child were ill the father spread mats on his grandfather's grave in order that his child might live. That is why Fijians fear a grave.

Undu in Totoya and Natokalau in Matuku are *tauvu,* as is explained in the following story:

There was no water of old in Natokalau. One day the god (*tupua*) of Natokalau went to Totoya and went round the island. He could find no water till he came to the coast of Undu. Here he went inland and found the god of Undu making a taro plantation. He hid to see where the water was in order to steal it. He crept up along the field till he got to the place where the Undu god had hung up his bottle of water. The god of Natokalau stole it and ran away, but threw it down anyhow at the foot of a big rock, and a big spring arose, but the water in Undu was dried up. Then the two gods discussed and the god of Undu said, "Very well, take the water to plant taro there for me to eat." Thus Natokalau and Undu became *tauvu* and seize taro and things without asking. Natokalau go and eat coconuts, sugar-cane, and bananas in Undu.

The *tauvu* of Yaroi is Sawakasa, on the Mbau side. The people of Sawakasa are known as the Vunivalu's sea slugs. They have a common god, Ravasu. Sawakasa is *tauvu* of all the land (*tauvu vakavanua*), so also is Namathu in Koro. There are also *tauvu* of Yaroi confined to the village, such as Ndravuni in Kandavu, Vandravandra is *tauvu* of Natokalau and has a common god, Wanggairakula.

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui. 631

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside. 621

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614
565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukai*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[8]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauva* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauvu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the 643

---

[8] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 761 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief. It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 787 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and 643 some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and 602 Yandrana are *tauvu*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

> If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:
>
> The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."
>
> When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."
>
> To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.
>
> When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakuilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 [198] The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly
565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 656 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> [576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is "*mai o!*"; by the women "*mai na vakandua!*" The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643 The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald.

When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614 Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622 Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602 or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

INFERENCES

000 I will confine my inferences entirely to the material already published whether in this book or elsewhere. It is my aim merely to sum up so that the facts which I hope sometime to record about the rest of Fiji may be more readily understood.

It follows that some of my suggestions will appear somewhat weak, because I am not availing myself of the decisive evidence that may be found in other parts. But these suggestions, weak or strong, are merely the first links in chains of arguments which cannot be completed until other tribes have handed in their facts.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE

174 Tradition says that the people of Kambara came from the west as part of the great migration which streamed down from the hills of Viti Levu and flooded all the east coast and the islands. From Kambara they extended to Lakemba. Tradition, however variable in details, never varies as to the general fact of an eastward movement. Samoan legend bears it out since it is full of chiefs and gods who came over from Fiji (16, Index; 9). Fijian legend, on the other hand, knows nothing about Samoa. It does know Tonga and tells of migrations both ways, but the penetration of Lau by the Tongans did not begin in earnest till the days of Rasolo, about 1800. On the other hand, titles which disappeared from Lau before the memory of man are to be found in Tonga.

Who were the people who occupied Lau before the westerners pushed them over to Samoa and Tonga? The people of Ono used to be Tongan in appearance, and still retain many Tongan traits. We may suppose that these Tongan-looking people were the last remnants of the original population, and that the Wathiwathi people who colonized Ono were the furthest and last ripple of the westward movement. The semi-Tongan appearance of the Lauans is better explained by an original Polynesian population than by the Tongan influx during the last century, for the pedigrees do not show enough inter-marriage with Tongans to account for the appearance of the Lauans who are seldom to be confused with westerners, but often with Tongans. I can find only seven inter-marriages; there must be many more that are not mentioned because there is no issue. In the five generations between Niumataiwalu and Finau there is recorded only one nobleman marrying a Tongan lady: there are ten descendants. Allowance must be made for Tongan blood coming in through women from Lau; but it is doubtful whether there is enough of it, especially taking into consideration

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Moala blood and western blood coming in directly or through Naiau, Vakano, 171
and Yandrana.

Linguistic remains support the hypothesis of a Polynesian population. The name of Sinatelangi, the daughter of Tui Lakemba, who drifted to Mbau, is pure Polynesian: Sina is a common name for a chief's daughter in Polynesia; *te* is a Polynesian article; *langi*, heaven, is a common title of chiefs in Polynesia. The name reveals a dialect that is not Tongan, at least modern Tongan, since *te* is not the present-day article in Tongan. It is probable that this dialect retained the *s*, instead of changing it into *h*, like Tongan, though it is just possible that the Fijians changed the *h* back into *s*; the western Fijian, however, would not do so at the present day.

There are various old place names which look Polynesian: the people themselves admit that Moala is not Fijian and now try and Fijianize it as Muala. The following words have meanings in Tongan, but not in Fijian:

FIJIAN	TONGAN	MEANING
Vanga,	fanga,	bay
Liku,	liku,	rocky shore
Oneata,	one,	sand
	'ata,	shade
Onemato,	mato,	steep slope

The word *onemato* seems decisive since it also bears the name of *nuku*, the Fijian word for sand.

There are in Lakemban a large number of words which contain a *p*, which is a Polynesian but not a Fijian sound; yet these words are not found in the Marists' Tongan dictionary:

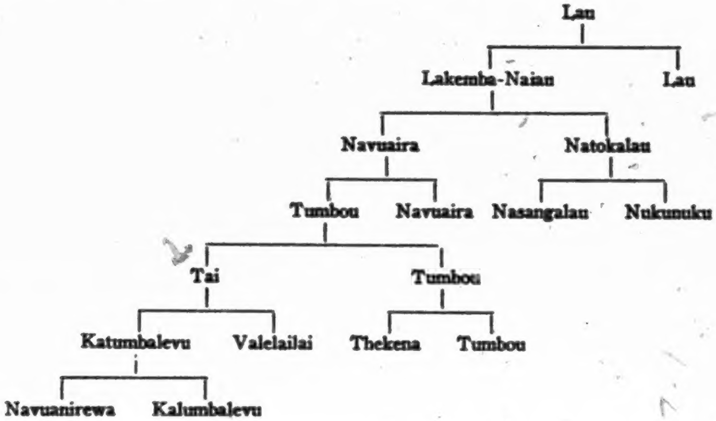
LAKEMBAN	MEANING
papa	board
paruparu	covered with rash
poko	body
sapila	smashed by a fall
sope	mud

The exclamations *polopolo* and *palapala* were definitely said not[3] to be Tongan; and Tongans do not know what *tupua* means, though they do use it in the expression *talatupua*. The word *i potani* (patch) is decidedly not Tongan, since it is translated into Tongan as *i mono*. These words therefore point to a Polynesian dialect, distinct from Tongan. This would explain forms like *papaku* (thick), *poroka* (body), *pura* (to bulge), *ripiripi* (angular), for they exist in Viti Levu with a *v*; as they are not found in Tongan, there is no reason why the Lauans should have changed *v* into *p*, so it must be concluded that the people of Viti Levu took them over from their Polynesian predecessors and turned the *p* into *v*.

174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a,* but is unknown outside Lau.

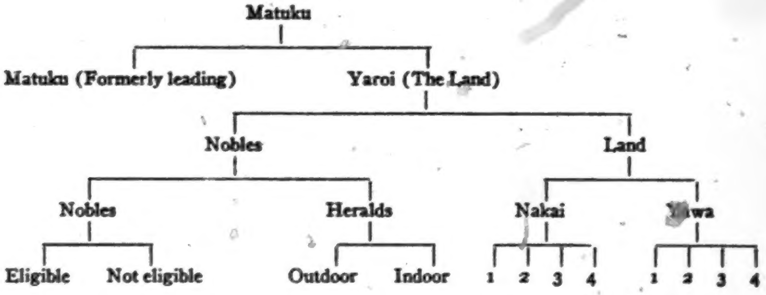
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus


Lau
Lakemba-Naian
Lau
Navuaira
Natokalau
Tumbou
Navuaira
Nasangalau
Nukunuku
Tai
Tumbou
Katumbalevu
Valelailai
Thekena
Tumbou
Navuanirewa
Kalumbalevu

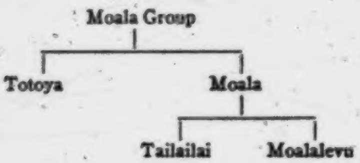
The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

In Matuku it is the same.

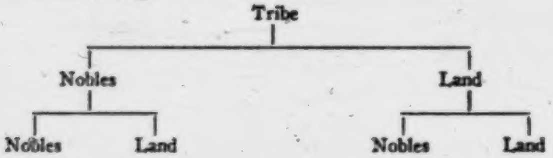

Matuku
Matuku (Formerly leading)
Yaroi (The Land)
Nobles
Land
Nobles
Heralds
Nakai
Y[illegible]wa
Eligible
Not eligible
Outdoor
Indoor
1
2
3
4
1
2
3
4

The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

The chief of the land is called the Land Chief. The chief of Moala is called Land Chief, and Totoya is said to be noble, thus:



Both in Tumbou and in Yaroi the heralds are said to be the Land of the Chiefs. In the Land division of Yaroi, Nakai are noble.



and so on indefinitely.

The noble side includes the reigning family, the heralds, and the household. The vanguard (*mbati*) is always in the land division. Thus Kambara is on the Lau side. In Lakemba, Yandrana is on the Natokalau side; about Navuaira there is no evidence; in Tumbou Tuware are on the Land side.

The twofold division of Lomaloma at first seems based on a different principle since the whole tribe is not divided into two compact territories, but the capital is divided into two halves of which some villages follow one, others the other. But it can be shown that this was the original state of affairs in Lakemba: it is agreed on all hands that Nasangalau and Nukunuku are noble and are connected with the nobles of Tumbou; and this is borne out by the fact that the heralds of Nasangalau and the indoor heralds of Tumbou have the same god. On the other hand, Vakano and Waitambu were subject to the Land side of Tumbou; Waitambu and Tumbou both worship the bodiless god, and Waitambu worships the Two Ladies, while Thekena worship their children whose father is Tui Vakano; all three call their children rats.

The vanguard (*mbati*) of the whole seems to be closely related to the vanguard of the subdivisions, for Kambara is specially related to both Yandrana and Tumbou quarter. This suggests that the dual division of Tai-Nasangalau-Nukunuku versus Tumbou-Waitambu-Vakano once ran through the whole group.

The whole frequently derives its name from the inferior divisions. Examples of this are Lau, Navuaira, Tumbou, Katumbalevu, Moala. Of the converse, there is only one instance: Matuku, once the leading half, gives its name to the whole island.

Sometimes there is a third group which does not seem to fit in, as Naturuku in Lomaloma. Intrusive villages such as Levuka and the Tongans in Lakemba may supply the explanation.

Is this the dual organization? The Lauan kinship system is based on the dual organization, and therefore proves that it once existed; in fact, it may be said still to exist since every unit tends to form a bond of intermarriage with some other unit: the nobles and Nasangalau, then later Matailakemba and Nasangalau, Vatuwangga and Naivi, etc. The custom of *tauvu* also records the former existence of intermarrying groups, since the people themselves are conscious that the bond is the same as between cross-cousins. Finally is the word *veitambani* which is used of cross-cousins: it means related as one side to another, and is derived from *tamba* which means wing, side, a side of the village. The great prestige of the home-nephew (*vasu i taukei*) points to a time when the highest form of marriage for a nobleman was with a lady of the Land. For the home-nephew is the son of a nobleman by a lady of the Land. It is difficult to understand otherwise why the son of a lady of a comparatively obscure clan like Thekena, or low caste village like Waitambu, should be a greater man than he who could boast a mother from Thakaundrove, one of the premier states of Fiji. Again, why is Uluilakemba II reckoned a "Great nephew" not on account of his mother of Nasangalau, the ancient nobility of which is known even abroad, but through his grandmother of Tanggalevu? Vakathoko, though senior in the senior branch, is not enumerated among the great noblemen, despite his grandmother of Nukunuku. Obviously it was not mere rank that counted, but the combination of noble and land.

Since society was divided and again subdivided into intermarrying groups, the dual organization was bound to become obscured; for a nobleman as Lakemban would marry into Lau, as one of Tai into Tumbou, as one of Katumbalevu into Valelailai, as Vatuwanggan into Naivi. If at some remote period, as appears to have been the case, the line of cleavage ran out between Lakemba and Lau, Natokalau and Navuaira, and so on, but right across all these divisions forming the nobles consisting of Tai, Naiau, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, perhaps Mothe and some others, and the land, that is, Tumbou, Vakano, Waitambu, Yandrana, Kambara, and others, the case was then much plainer.

There is one possible objection to the theory that identifies the dual organization of the village with what is commonly known among anthropologists as the dual organization. The relations of intermarrying group, cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621 insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614 *veve*, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565 as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622 alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

622 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but semen-man would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

INSTALLATION

The ceremony of installing a chief varies in details in different tribes, 643 but the general outlines are constant: kava drinking, tying on of a piece of cloth or scarf, guard to keep anyone from coming in during the ceremony, prohibition of all noises for four days, bathing feasts at the end of four days. This period of four days is very much like a period of mourning, indeed it is described by the same term as mourning, *tonivaki.* It looks then as though the installation was conceived as a death. Tui Mavana at his installation is nursed in the lap of the elders for four days like an eldest newborn son: this looks like death and rebirth. The legend of the origin of the chiefs of Yaroi leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the tying on of the scarf: the snake was a god, it had a scarf tied round the body, was itself called "the cloth of the land," bark cloth is waved to catch souls: therefore it may be inferred that the scarf contains the divinity which passes into the chief who dies as a man, to be reborn as a god. This inference is confirmed by the cult of the water-sprites: the initiates of the cult drink kava and thereby become possessed by spirits.

The evidence of the divinity of kings is slight in Lau, but it is there: there is a god called Tui Lakemba, who, according to Fison (4, p. 49) was son of the sky god, and there was once a chief bearing that name, and there still is in Tonga. The same with Tui Vakano.

Thus a new explanation of the title Vunivalu is evolved which is conferred on one of the two chiefs of Mbau. It is usually interpreted as a metaphorical expression, the Root of War, but it would be more in accordance with the Fijian thought usage to translate it literally God of War. The captain of a reed-throwing team is called the God of the Reed-throwing, obviously because the god is in him. The priests of the tidal stone in Levukaindaku are spoken of as "the gods (*vu*) of the stones." On this analogy the *vunivalu* is the god of war, the *vuniwai* is the god of the medicine. What then is the *ravunisa?* The same word, *sa,* is found in *mburenisa,* club-house; in Samoa, *sa* means a tribe, a clan: this meaning suits both words, and *ravunisa* would then be the Lord God of the Tribe, in other words the incarnation of the ancestor god.

The chief being divine it follows that the same ceremonial is observed towards him as towards a god: offerings, first fruits, etc.

The herald may be defined as the chief's priest: he is to the chief what the priest is to the god.

There are two hints that the possession of the regalia conferred the chieftainship: the meaning of the ornaments which Kumboavanua stole from Tokairambe was subjection; in other words, he who held them was overlord;

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

GLOSSARY

DIALECT WORDS

Lauan

Mbathi. Again.
Mbaravi (mbārāvi). Shore.
Mbo-ka. To find.
Mbona. Evil smelling.
Mborisi. Angry.
Mbosi. Evil smelling (after coitus).
Mbuthi. Wet.

Thewa. To sit.
Thivo. Down.
Thowiri. To spin, twirl.

Nndai-na. To lie, be mistaken, deceive.
Ndakala. To open the mouth.
Nduthi. To point with the finger.
Nduke. To project.
Ndrakai. Weary; hard work.
Ndra (ndrā). Leaf.
Nndriva-ta. To steal.
Ndroso. Hoarse.

Faufau. To wear a turban.
Feno-ka. To tickle.
Fiu. Tired of.

Nggalu. Pudding.
Nggau. My (to eat).
Nggou. My (property).

I. This.
Iei. This, here.
Ifinga. To gobble up.
Inggore, Inggoya. That.

Kathu. Plant, tree, wood, stick.
Kambete. Cracked.
Kai-laka. To abuse, use bad language.
Kai (kaī). There it is.
Kanda. To run.
Kayavi. Evening.
Kapelu. Bent.
Kavere. Broken (of brittle objects).
Kavoro. Broken (of solid objects).
Kemunu (kemunū). You.
Keta. We (inclusive).
Ki. To, hither.
Kokosi (kōkosi). To play.
Koikoya. That is it.
Kutha. How much.
Kuno-tha. To shake with both hands.
Kuta. To bite off.

Langi. Sky, rain.
Lekutu. Bush, country (as opposed to town).
Lele (lĕlĕ). A coaxing particle as in lele, e nda nggau (do you give me one). 104
Leka-ta. To be shorter than.
Lenggelengge. To kick about.
Lepo. Oven not covered with earth.
Linde-nga. To fillip.
Lingo. Only used in ta lingo-tha, forget.

Mamake (māmākĕ). Din of voices.
Manda. In front.
Mandatakina. To lead.
Mairu. E malū. I do not know (Levuka?).
Maopo. Intelligent, clever.
Motu-ka. To hit.
Mosi-ta. To hurt, pain.

Nini-vakina. To dislike a man, have him on one's nerves.
No (nō). To lie; used as auxiliary to qualify.
Numbu. Deep.
Nuve. Caterpillar.

Olaue (olauĕ). Exclamation of surprise.
Ofuofu. Onanist.
Omu. Thy.
Omunu (omunū). Your.
Ona. His.
Ondra. Their.

Pani-a. To anoint.
Pelu-ka. To bend; pass (See kapelu, thopelu).
Pia. Penis.
Pisi. To spurt up.
Piathi. Bad, "rotten."
Pono-ka. To catch.
Polo. Elephantiasis of the testicles.
Popo. Rotten.

Rewa, Rewa i thake. High.
Rindeu. To start, be surprised.
Ririva. Afraid, nervous.

Sala. By himself.
Saiau. Myself alone.
Saumbongi, Sāmbongimbongi, ni. To-morrow.
Sapota. To catch a falling object.

Ta. Not.
Tasiporitakina. To crop the hair close.

104 **Tatama.** Quick.
Tawa. Not.
Tatawai. To talk in sleep.
Teki. Not yet, never.
Tei-makina. To stick in.
Telefua. Naked.
Tonggo-va. To pounce upon.
Tona. Yaws.
Toto. Painful.
Tuki-a. To hit, box.
Tumba-takina. To run away from.
Tuwai. Long, delayed, ancient.

Unu. To drink.
Undre-va. Alight, to light.
Usu-ta. To push self forward, to appropriate with a high hand.
Uta. Used to, pleasant.

Vakasolo kakana (vakasolo kākana). To whisper.
Vakatakea (vakatāea). To explain, show.
Vala-ta. To do.
Vakutha, ni (vākutha). When?
Vea. Overripe.
Vuta. To refuse.
Vusa. Faded, ruined.
Vutungu (vutungū). Fractious.

Wathara-a. To pursue.
Wakuri-a (wākuri-a). To drive away.
Waliwali. Scented oil.
Weimami. Our (exclusive).
Weta. Our (inclusive).

Y. A glide introducing "a," as Lauans cannot pronounce "a" without a preceding sound.
Yamba. Mat.
Yasa-va. To seek.
Yapa. To fly about.
Yavi, ni. Yesterday.
Yavi. To pull a rope.
Yawalevu. Main passage.
Yauka. I do not know. Moala.

Mbusi. Evil smelling.
Mburini. To husk a coconut.

Nggala (nggalā). A bird called teri in Mbauan.

Koa. Here.
Kotha. To hit.

Mathi. Again.

Somi-tha. To drink.

Veikavuai. To abuse, insult one another.

Yali, e. There is none.

Vanua Mbalavu

Ndrama-ka. To throw at (also Ono).

Kea. He (in ko kea).
Koma. To burn.
Kutu-ma. To pursue.

Lombau. Grove.

Ovo. To cry.

Taki. Not yet.
Tapalea. To parry.

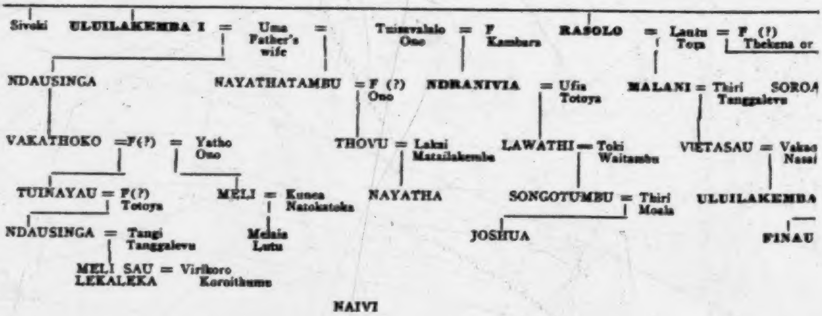
Veimbore. To insult, abuse one another.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ABSTRA

NIUP

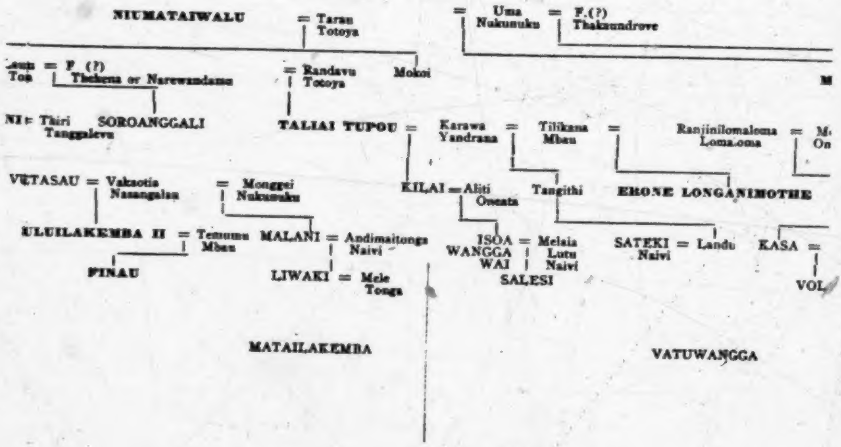
601


Siveki
ULUILAKEMBA I = Uma Father's wife =
Tuisavalalo Ono = F Kambara
RASOLO = Lautu Toga = F (?) Thekena or
NDAUSINGA
NAYATHATAMBU = F (?) Ono
NDRANIVIA = Ufia Totoya
MALANI = Thiri Tanggaleva
SOROA
VAKATHOKO = F(?) = Yatho Ono
THOVU = Lakai Matailakemba
LAWATHI = Toki Waitambu
VIETASAU = Vakac Nasai
TUINAYAU = F(?) Totoya
MELI = Kunea Natokatoka
NAYATHA
SONGOTUMBU = Thiri Moala
ULUILAKEMBA
NDAUSINGA = Tangi Tanggalevu
Melaia Lutu
JOSHUA
FINAU
MELI SAU LEKALEKA = Virikoro Koroithume
NAIVI

[p. 240 A]

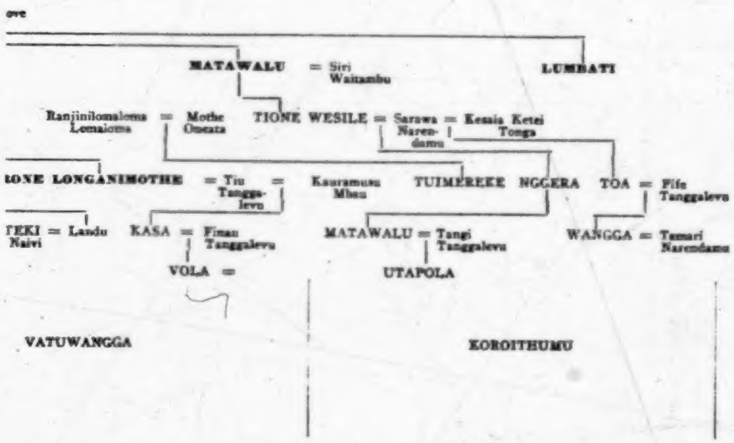
601

ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF NAVUANIREWA


NIUMATAIWALU = Tarau Totoya
= Uma Nukunuku = F.(?) Thakaundrove
Lesu Toa = F. (?) Thekena or Narewandamu
= Randavu Totoya
Mokoi
M
NI = Thiri Tanggaleva
SOROANGGALI
TALIAI TUPOU = Karawa Yandrana = Tilikana Mbau =
Ranjinilomaloma = M
Lomaloma
On
VETASAU = Vakaotia Nasangalau
= Monggei Nukunuku
KILAI = Aliti Oneata
Tangithi
ERONE LONGANIMOTHE
ULUILAKEMBA II = Temumu Mbau
MALANI = Andimaitonga Naivi
ISOA WANGGA WAI = Melaia Lutu Naivi
SATEKI = Landu Naivi
KASA =
FINAU
LIWAKI = Mele Tonga
SALESI
VOL
MATAILAKEMBA
VATUWANGGA

[p. 240 B]

601


ove
MATAWALU = Siri Waitambu
LUMBATI
Ranjinilomaloma Lomaloma = Mothe Oneata
TIONE WESILE = Sarawa Narendamu = Kesaia Ketei Tonga
IONE LONGANIMOTHE = Tiu Tanggalevu = Kauramusu Mbau
TUIMEREKE
NGGERA
TOA = Fife Tanggalevu
TEKI = Landu Naivi
KASA = Finau Tanggalevu
MATAWALU = Tangi Tanggalevu
WANGGA = Tamari Narendamu
VOLA =
UTAPOLA
VATUWANGGA
KOROITHUMU

[p. 240 C]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

1. Budge, Ernest, History of Egypt, Cambridge, 1893.

2. Collocott, E. E. V., The supernatural in Tonga: Am. Anth., vol. 23, p. 428, 1921.

3. Erskine, J. E., Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees, p. 412, London, 1853.

4. Fison, Lorimer, Tales from old Fiji, London, 1907.

5. Frazer, J. G., The golden bough, 3rd ed., London, 1921, 1922.

6. Hazelwood, David [edited by James Calvert], A Fijian and English dictionary and a grammar of the language, 2nd ed., 1914.

7. Hocart, A. M., Kingship, Oxford, 1927.

8. Hollander, J. J. de, Handleiding by de Beofening der Landen Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Ost Indie, Timor, vol. 2.

9. Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa-Inseln, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1903.

10. Mariner, William [compiled and arranged by John Martin], An account of the natives of the Tongan Islands, 2nd. ed., London, 1818.

11. Na Mata [the Native Gazette], Suva, Fiji.

12. Rivers, W. H. R., History of Melanesian society, vol. 1, p. 22, Cambridge, 1914.

13. Seeman, Berthold, Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vitian or Fijian islands in the year 1860-61, Cambridge, 1862.

14. Thomson, Basil, the Fijians, London, 1908.

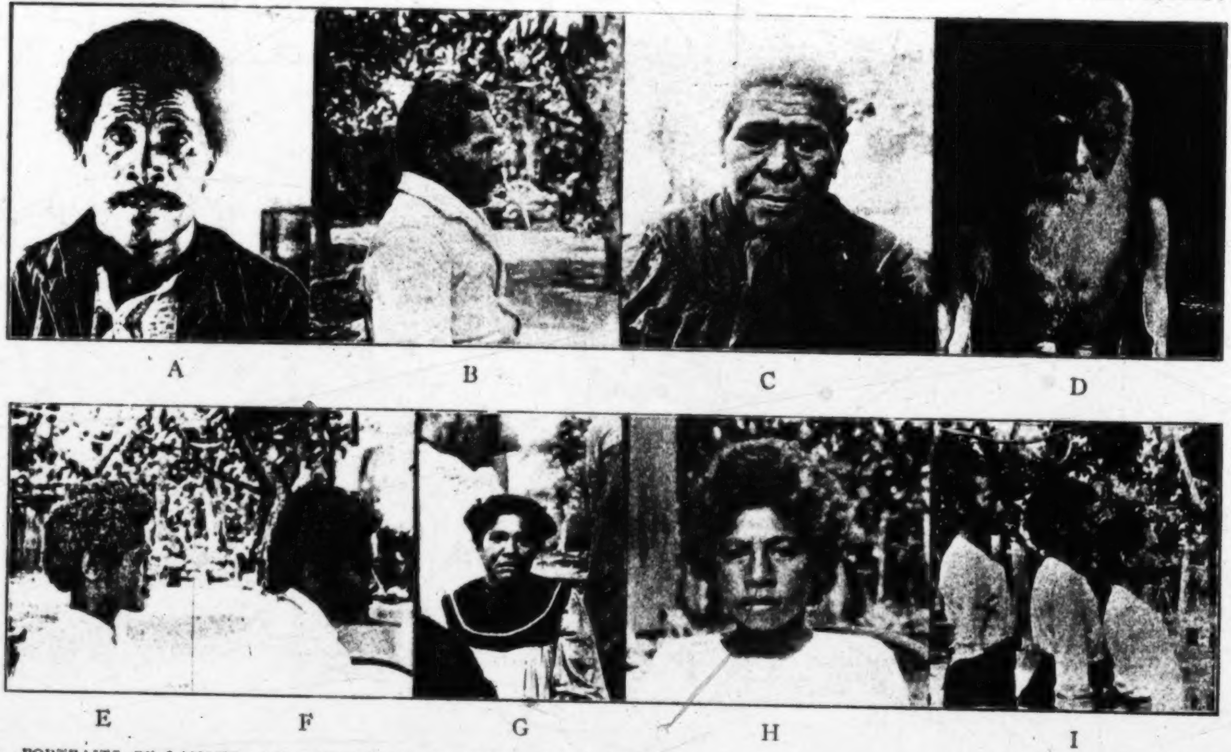
15. Turner, George, Samoa a hundred years ago and long before, London, 1884.

16. Waterhouse, Joseph, The king and the people of Fiji, London, 1866.

17. Wilkes, Charles, Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Exped., 1838-1842, London, 1852.

18. Williams, Thomas and Calvert, James, Fiji and the Fijians, 2nd ed., London, 1860.

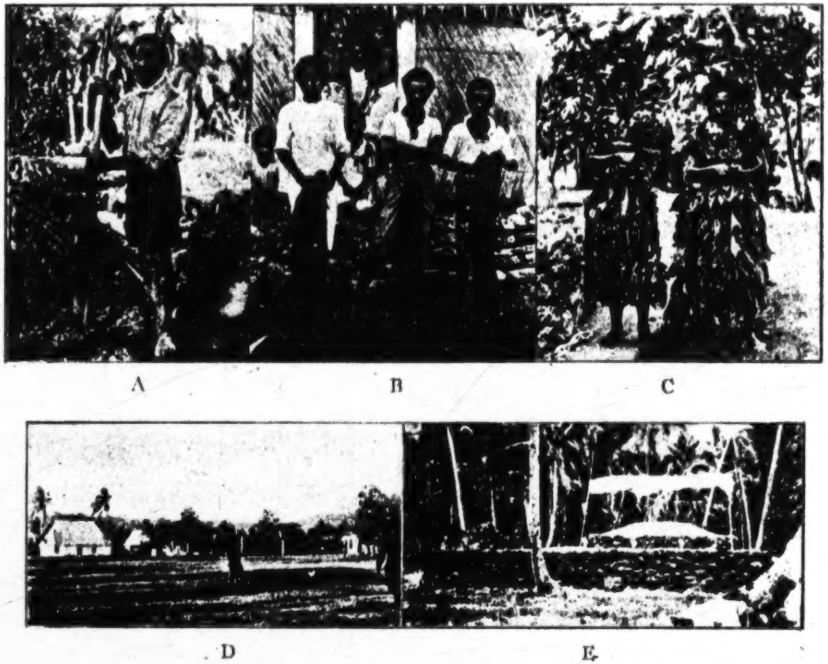
[End Plate []



PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM FULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

291
292
412
241
242
764

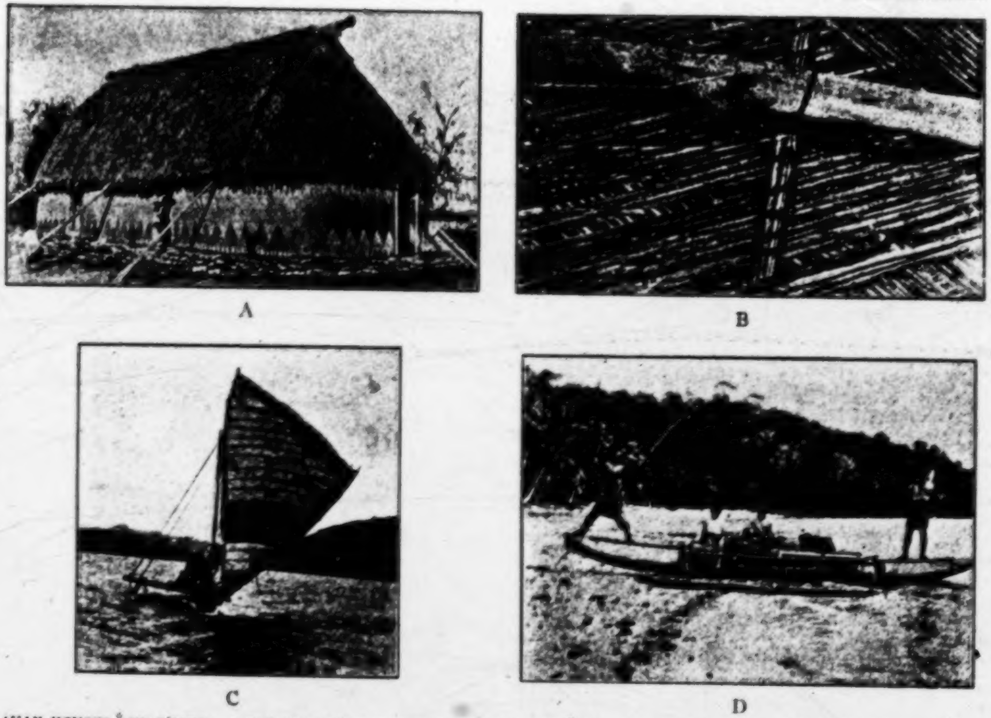


FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN, TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

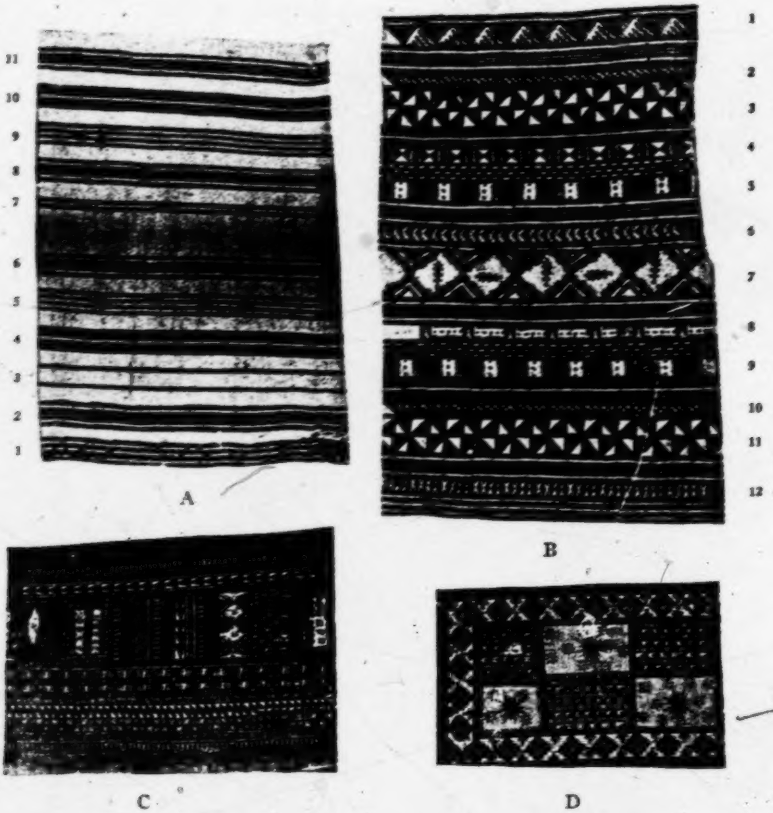

A
B
C
D

LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS: *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE; *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

531
281



LAUAN BARK CLOTH DESIGNS: *A*, FRAMEWORK; 1, FRAME OF RED, FOUR LINES SO CALLED BECAUSE THE CENTRAL WHITE LINE IS FILLED IN WITH THAT COLOR; 2, FRAME OF MBIKA; 3, NAME UNKNOWN; 4, DRIPPING WATER, WAI KATIRI, PART, I BELIEVE, OF THE BROAD WHITE STRIP IS RED; 5, FRAME OF THE RED; 6, FRAME OF THE MBIKA; 7, WITH THE WIDE SPACE BELOW FORMS THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN; THE OTHER BARS ARE REPETITIONS OF THOSE BELOW; *B*, FRAMEWORK FILLED WITH DESIGNS, 1, VAKALINISEI, KALINESEI'S STYLE; 2, VEIMBALEYAKI, FALLING APART; 3, KAMIKI, FALLING APART; 4, KUMETE NDRUA, DOUBLE KAVA BOWL; 5, VAKATAITI, TAHITIAN STYLE; 6, VATHU NI TAURUKU, BROW OF THE CAVE; 7, VETAU (TONGAN, FETAU, NAME OF A TREE), IN CENTER A DESIGN SOMETIMES CALLED PAWPAW FLOWER, THE BLACK TRIANGLES BETWEEN THE TWO VETAU ALTERNATELY LEFT BLANK AND PAINTED RED; *C*, *D*, STENCILLED DESIGNS ON BARK CLOTH.

[End Plate 4]